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The Classical Journal

PUBLISHED BY THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH
WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND
AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

Volume XIX

NOVEMBER 1923

Number 2

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

PUBLISHED by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with the cooperation of the
Classical Association of New England and the Classical Association of the Pacific States

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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Editorial

THE SERVICE BUREAU FOR CLASSICAL TEACHERS

The Service Bureau, introduced editorially to our readers in the October JOURNAL, has issued the following announcements.

I. COLLECTION AND PREPARATION OF MATERIAL

Inasmuch as the Bureau is designed to serve as a center for the exchange of ideas on the subject of secondary Latin and Greek, initial steps have been taken to secure from the classical teachers of the country and from other interested persons the best material that is available. A comprehensive list of the headings under which this material will be classified in the files of the Bureau will appear either in the next issue of the JOURNAL or in some other accessible form. Meanwhile a temporary Outline will be sent upon request.

It is impossible in this article to set forth all the ways in which co-operation is being sought in an effort to make the Bureau a real "clearing-house." The task is, of course, an enormous one. Services are needed immediately from persons who can furnish help along any of these lines:

1. Mechanical (cutting up journals with a view to classifying useful articles, making charts from material furnished by the Bureau, verifying references, etc.).

2. Creative (thinking out interesting lines of procedure for the Service Bureau to follow, and originating ideas in general which can be worked out with advantage to the cause of Latin).

3. Pedagogical (not only teaching skilfully and with a professional sense for values, but also putting into tangible form from time to time certain results with a view to making them useful to others).

4. Informational (collecting information along certain lines which are important for the Service Bureau to follow up both as a source for facts needed in answering certain inquiries and for the purpose of scientific study).

5. Journalistic (writing brief paragraphs for papers and magazines and an occasional article; also watching for interesting bits of news about Latin and Greek in current publications).

II. ORGANIZATION OF CO-OPERATION CENTERS IN VARIOUS STATES

It is obviously impossible for the Service Bureau as it is at present financed to mimeograph or print bulletins for free distribution to all the classical teachers of the country or to mail them in such large numbers as this suggestion implies. Pending further consideration of ways and means as the work develops, the following plan seems on the whole to be the most feasible:

Individuals may secure material either as a loan by paying postage, or by purchasing it at a minimum price sufficient only to cover the cost. Certain bulletins will be supplied free of charge. As fast as material is ready it will be listed in a *Service Bureau Announcement* in which details as to ways of securing it will be given.

In the case of states where individuals (or some machinery such as Extension Departments) have offered to provide coöperative centers (the present list includes Iowa, Missouri, Texas, Indiana, Tennessee, Wisconsin, Mississippi, Arizona, Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington, Idaho, and possibly three others) sample copies of bulletins in mimeographed or printed form will be sent free of charge to the persons who have assumed responsibility in the way mentioned. These can be brought to the attention of the teachers of the state in various ways. They may also be reproduced (except for commercial purposes) and sent out in accord with any arrangement that commends itself to those in charge of the centers. In calling the attention of teachers to them, in case this is the only way of supplying their needs, the following statement should be made: "This bulletin may be purchased directly from the Service Bureau at the cost price indicated, or may be secured as a loan by the payment of postage."

It is possible that funds may be provided later for the printing of certain material in quantities sufficiently large to enable all classical teachers to receive copies free of charge. This would be highly desirable, especially in the case of a monthly news sheet which might carry all announcements and considerable other material as well. Such a publication is discussed in a later paragraph.

III. PUBLICATION

Within a short time a bulletin known as *Latin Notes* will be published. This will be twice as large as the issue formerly sent out from the Latin Laboratory at the University of Wisconsin, and will be somewhat different in its character. It will contain the announcements of the Service Bureau, news items, brief paragraphs dealing with the teaching of Latin, useful outlines and summaries, notices of new books, pictures, and details of equipment in general.

TRADE AND TRAVEL IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

(Continued from October Issue)

BY BENJAMIN W. WELLS
New York City

II

The first far-reaching interruption to the general freedom of intercourse between all parts of the empire came in 314, when after the death of Galerius the rivalry between Licinius and Maximinus compelled the suspension of all trade between East and West, since any trader passing from one section to the other might look to be treated as a spy. But since the death of Aurelius brigandage had menaced trade and industry in many parts of the empire and presently no province was free from it. Countless inscriptions record its victims. These were of course most numerous in the border provinces, but even Egypt was not free, first or last, from banded outlawry, as appears from Lucian and Heliodorus, nor was Gaul, where in 187 Maternus and his following had dared to face the soldiers of Commodus. The Golden Ass of Apuleius shows what conditions seemed credible for Thessaly even earlier and it was but little later, under Septimius Severus that Felix Bulla's outlaw insolence became a byword in Italy. It is instructive to note the public acquiescence in brigandage as reflected in then popular writers. Lives and tales of outlaws made an appeal as popular in the declining empire as in the Egypt of the Thousand Nights and a Night. The root of the trouble was that the empire either would not or could not meet its responsibility for rural police. It left the guard, as it had the upkeep, of the roads to local care and as the municipalities decayed through overtaxation and mistaxation, their guardianship of communications, which at best would have been inadequate, was relaxed altogether.

The story of commerce by sea is closely parallel. Here, even longer than on land, the Pax Romana countervailed for some generations the economic errors that from the first were sapping the prosperity of the commonwealth. Extensions of the empire, better relations with Arabia, more direct shipping connections with India, joined to swell the volume of sea-borne exchanges under the Julian emperors. Demands for new market-rights multiply; great sums are expended to improve and enlarge harbors, above all at Ostia by Claudius and again by Trajan; there are larger lighthouses and more of them; beacons and sailing-marks multiply throughout the Mediterranean. Though Ptolemy's Pharos at Alexandria was not matched there were new structures notable enough to command admiring record at Ostia, Corinth, and Fréjus, at Chrysopolis in Bithynia, at Dover in England and across the Channel a 200-foot lighthouse built under Caligula at Boulogne. Even in the decline and peril of the empire Julian and Valentinian I showed active interest in harbor improvements.

Further evidence of the volume of sea-borne trade centering at first-century Rome is the extent of warehousing provided there on public account for grain, paper and spices, and also for general mercantile storage. Seventeen of such "horrea" are specifically mentioned along the Tiber between Rome and the port; 291 others are reported in Rome, mainly, as is natural, in the region of the Aventine. State slaves and freedmen administered them under orders from the city prefect, who, in Rome as elsewhere, was responsible for the up-keep of the buildings and for the security of their contents. In some, at least, of these *horrea*, open space, sealable rooms, closets or boxes could be rented. Silver and other valuables were accepted for safe keeping and litigated objects pending disposition by the courts.⁵

The activity in dealings in foreign wares at Rome is further attested by the large provision for retail trade in them in the districts most accessible to the docks, the Vicus Tuscus and the Vicus Jugaria, the streets connecting the Forum with the Tiber, both convenient to the Circus Maximus under whose arches was the

⁵ See the citations in *Dictionnaire des antiquités* (Daremberg and Saglio) under "Horreum," p. 270 f.

largest market in Rome, while just beyond lay the industrial quarter, the Subura. Yet another striking and enduring witness to the bustling interprovincial trade of early imperial Rome is the Monte Testuccio on the Tiber bank between Rome and Ostia. This mound, more than a half-mile in circuit and rising to an hundred feet, is wholly made up of fragments of earthen jars in which wine, oil or grain had been brought from Spain to the capital. There are many similar, though lesser, mounds on both banks of the river.

The eagerness with which Romans threw themselves into distant commerce after Augustus had at last secured for the whole Mediterranean real freedom of navigation with relative security and uniform maritime laws is amusingly reflected by the satirists. "Let none outstrip you to the port," counsels Horace. "Hurry that you may not miss the Cibyranthian and Bithynian bargains." Persius, in like vein, bids a merchant "hasten to ship fish-sauces, tow, castoreum, ebony, incense and Coan silks from Pontus. Be first to lift the pepper sacks from the thirsty camel. Make a turnover."⁶ Beside such buyers, though perhaps going less far afield, were salesmen travelling for wholesale dealers, humbler pack-peddlers and push-cart men. Local merchants would stress the variety of their stock. An inscription at Reate commemorates a "dealer in every kind of over-sea wares," a rough equivalent for the "W. I. Goods" of the old American country sign.

An immediate effect of this general commercial activity was that the trading classes became, relatively to others, more wealthy and influential. Of more lasting import was the introduction into Italy of many new plants and animals, some destined to prove of much economic value. On the other hand this foreign trade made for increase of luxury and added to the drain, already noticeable, on the empire's specie reserve.

The ships and crews with which this trade was carried on were, at least for the longer and more venturesome voyages, usually from Alexandria, whose merchants, says Suetonius, worshipped Augustus as Jupiter Emancipator and Protector of Shipping.

⁶ Horace, *Epistles* I. vi. 32 f.; Persius V. 134 ff.

The traders whom they took with them were Italian, Syrian or Egyptian. Italian ships remained coastal traders, seldom venturing on new or untried courses. Long as Romans dealt with Indians they learned nothing from them of the magnetic compass. Pliny depended on the African Juba for what he tells of the Canary Islands. In ship building there was little advance. Lucian, indeed, tells of an Alexandrian ship whose modern rating would be some 1,575 tons. The "Actus," which brought to Rome the obelisk that now stands in the Piazza del Popolo, and others mentioned as of the times of Caligula and of Constantine may have been larger and perhaps hardly exceeded in size till the nineteenth century. But the ordinary craft were very much smaller, apparently hardly over 400 tons. They sailed normally only between early spring and early autumn, and between November 11 and March 5 would put to sea only in emergencies and on state business.

For these fair-weather craft under favorable conditions the passage from Brundisium (Brindisi) to Dyrrachium (Durazzo), about 160 km., took a day; to sail from Ostia to Narbo (Narbonne), 770 km., or to Forum Julii (Fréjus), 500 km., took three days; to Tarrasco (Tarragona), 900 km., four; to Gades (Cadiz), 1,800 km., seven. To go from Puteoli to Corinth, *via* the Straits of Messina, 900 km., took five days, to Alexandria, 1,700 km., nine. Herodotus had reckoned for his time 700 stadia as a normal day's sailing, 600 stadia for a fair night. Marcianus writing nearly nine centuries later still reckons the same 700 stadia a day. Of course there were wide differences, then as always, between dispatch boats and freighters. The panegyrist Aristides speaks as though it were common to make 1,200 stadia in a day, possibly of twenty-four hours; Scylax reckons an average of but 500; probably 220 km. or 138 miles would have been an extraordinary day's sail, 115 km. or 72 miles an ordinary one, 90 km. or 56 miles a lagging performance; the usual progress would be from four to six knots an hour, with eight for a maximum. But though the Romans innovated or developed little in navigation they were the unwilling cause of

much maritime enterprise in others. In the time of Probus (276-281) Franks who had been colonized against their will in Pontus built or took ships there and found or made their way to the North Sea, subsisting on plunder by the way. Saxons in the third and fourth centuries repeatedly harried the coasts of Gaul and Spain. Northmen, learning first in the South the use of sails and of iron, became the vikings not alone of the North but of the Mediterranean.

Some idea of the courses of traffic and of the relative importance of the larger shipping centers may be got from estimates of the accommodations for vessels which these then offered. Alexandria, with 909 acres of harborage and 9.5 miles of quais was incomparably first. In spaciousness Ostia ranked next with 276 acres, then Messina with 242, Brundisium with 198, Puteoli with 57. Carthage had but 37, Massilia (Marseilles) only 31. But in length of quais the order was quite different. Brundisium with four miles outranked Ostia with 3.75, Messina had 3.25, no other port so much as a mile, Carthage leading among them. It is indicative of new trends in trade that Trajan should have deemed it worth while to create a quite extensive Etrurian port at Centum Cellæ.

State intervention to change the courses of commerce was incidental only, except that for dealing with the farther East the sea-route was naturally favored above that which led overland through the rival kingdom of Parthia, and under Trajan, for analogous reasons, the southern caravan route *via* Damascus over the more northerly *via* Palmyra. Some have seen indications that at the eastern Egyptian ports differential taxes were imposed in discrimination against Indian or Arabian shipping but the evidence is obscure and the protection was not needed.

Much more important than any efforts of the state to deflect commerce from its normal courses by administrative action or even to aid it by engineering works were its relations with the open-sea shipping guilds, the *navicularii*. There were riverine and rafting guilds, too, the *nautae*, *scapharii*, *lyntarii*, *tatiarii*, this last at Rome a *corpus splendidissimum*.⁷ In Gaul several of these

⁷ Corp. Insc. Lat. XIV. 4144.

river gilds engaged also in manufacturing and in marketing their products, attained wealth and profited by special legislation. The *navicularii* were of more importance to the state and its dealings with them more fateful than like procedure with other gilds in the empire's commercial collapse. In republican days the marine gilds had been essentially subsidiary to the tax-contractors, the *publicani*. As the empire took over for the civil service the assembling and distribution of taxes in kind, a large part of the whole revenue from the provinces, it was drawn into close relations, of necessity, with the *navicularii*. These it treated at first individually, encouraging shipping masters by special privileges rather than remunerative rates. Thus Claudius gave citizenship to any whose ships should bring 10,000 modii of grain annually for six years to Rome. Hadrian dispensed shipping masters from the already burdensome municipal functions, but there were still some of them without government contracts, working wholly for private account. Under Septimius Severus, however, and more decisively under Caracalla, shipping was tending to become a *munus publicum* and the *navicularius* a public functionary. Shipping led all the organized industries in becoming an inalienable hereditary obligaton. After Diocletian all *navicularii* were regarded as in state service and contracts made only with the gilds, now to all intents merged into one union, working under strictest supervision, with stern penalties for evasion of duties or commands, and compensated with privileges, as before, rather than by remunerative rates. For the longer voyages the gilds were few and in the early days had been powerful. Those of Alexandria, Ostia, and Carthage dominated the freighting of the Mediterranean till the forced prominence of Constantinople. When not required for government service a *navicularius* could trade on his own account and introduce his own goods into any port duty-free. In prosperous times this might have made it worth while to carry government freight and passengers below cost. But by 250 the gaps in the ranks of the Roman gild had to be filled by forced draft from among the wealthy. None might

decline the burdensome distinction. Thus enterprise was killed, competition stifled. The trade of the Mediterranean and of many rivers had become to all intents a state monopoly when Constantine tried to console the *navicularii* for their collapsing fortunes by promoting them all to be equites.

The bulk of freight to be moved had in the Julian years been very large and varied. Foodstuffs continued the largest item. Rates were high. Lucian tells of a single ship which was expected to yield its owners a profit of twelve talents, something over \$14,000 a year.⁸ But, whatever the rates, it is clear that till well into the third century products from all parts of the empire and from some regions far beyond could be had anywhere by any one who was ready to pay the price.

Now since Italy was habitually importing the products of taxes, either in specie or goods, and using the former to pay for other imports, and since, further, its trade was carried on in large part by provincials there was waste in Italy and gradual impoverishment everywhere. Gold and silver were constantly trickling over the northern frontiers for furs, down and amber, over the southern for ivory and rich woods, to the further East for spices and silk, to Arabia for incense and drugs, while the production of metals within the empire was declining and the Dacian mines gave but passing relief. The government seems not to have realized the danger involved in the drain of specie. No serious effort was made to check export of it till Hadrian's time, though even in Cicero's day merchants might not send gold from Puteoli to Greece nor Jews to Jerusalem.⁹

The Roman shipping gild brought grain in great fleets from Africa, Cyrene and Egypt; some came, too, from Pontus, Sardinia and Sicily to the northern Mediterranean ports. Wine was shipped everywhere from Italy and the Greek islands. The Euxine and African fisheries still furnished in bulk the staple

⁸ Lucian, *The Ship*, 13. The yield is something less than \$10 a ton and seems fairly comparable to the *abol* a talent, or 1 cent for 19 pounds of Corp. Inscr. Att. II. 526 or to the 1750 drachmas for a ship-load of timber from Macedon to the Piræus in Demosthenes' day (XLIX. 29, 30).

⁹ Cicero, In P. Vatinius, V. 12; Pro. L. Flacco, XXVIII. 67.

salted fish; Italy salted and smoke-cured meats and sausages. Epicures in all parts of the Roman world demanded exotic sauces and were ready to pay extravagant prices for them. Second only to foods in bulk and possibly equalling them in value of freight were textiles and the wools, linen, cotton, silk and dyes used in their manufacture. Italian wool passed for the best and was manufactured for export in many parts of Italy; Liguria, especially, had an active trade in ready-made clothing. The coarser fabrics for soldiers' and laborers' wear, the blankets, cushions and mattresses were furnished mainly by Gaul and the Danubian provinces. In Belgica they blanketed the finer sheep to protect the wool from the weather, as they did also in Apulia, importing the idea from Miletus or possibly Attica. The cheaper leather goods were sent in great quantities from Gaul, the finer brought even from Babylonia, whence came also the finer linens, but the bulk of the linen was Egyptian with some from Spain. Germany furnished linen sails in Pliny's day. Egypt exported cotton weaves and the staple also for manufacture in Malta. From China silk was brought raw, spun and in fabrics which were unravelled and re woven with linen or cotton. Cos specialized in this work.

Pottery of the commoner sorts was supplied in the main from Italy. The bulk of the glass and practically all the paper and cordage came from Egypt. Parts of Africa now almost treeless furnished wood to Italy even in the first century, so wanton and prolonged had been the over-cutting there. In return Italy was now able to send out toilet articles, ornaments, salves and art-ware. At Rome they imported torsos from Greece and fitted them with heads to order. Campanian salves ranked second to those of Egypt alone; its art metal-work and carving of amber, gems and cameos, and the dyeing of Tarentum were in broad demand and high esteem. Nor must drugs be forgotten in the list. The emperors employed herb gatherers in Crete, Sicily and Africa, but Galen was so suspicious of adulteration and substitution in medicaments thus provided that he did not shun laborious journeys to collect his own.

Thus in the better days of the empire some goods from each part found purchasers in the others. The volume of exchanges must have been much greater than ever before or again till long after. And so it was also with travel especially for other than directly commercial motives. In Lucian's day those who had "seen the world" or studied abroad may well have been relatively as numerous as since till quite recent years. The diffusion of Hellenistic sympathies brought a cosmopolitan curiosity and there were now notable seats of learning in many parts of the empire. Africa actually took for a time the leading place in education and so in the development of Christian thought. An eager and open minded interest in medical science appears both there and in Asia. There was much travel for health and to or by physicians. The journeys of Galen and Dioscorides to perfect or practise their art are frequently mentioned; so, too, are the wanderings of medical quacks. Among enlightened travellers of inquiring mind may be named Strabo, Diodorus, Apion, Pausanias and Apuleius. A great deal of professional travel is indicated by what Lucian tells of himself in the "Twice Accused" and by the remark of the panegyrist Aristides that Philostratus was no great traveller for he had visited only Greece, Italy, and Egypt. But men clung to the beaten tracks. Pausanias in his wanderings through Libya, Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Asia Minor, Greece, Italy and Sicily met no one who had seen Susa or Babylon.

Artists, actors, musicians, athletes, whole dramatic companies, "synods of Dionysus," went on tour in the good imperial days, and there were guides to show sight-seers all the scenes of Homer's Troy and even, according to Josephus, the wreck of Noah's ark and the salt pillar, once a wife of Lot. Institutions and matters of ethnology, sociology or economics attracted little attention but whatever recalled turning points of Greek history or Roman conquest was sure of sight-seers. Travelling was comfortable. There were carriages in which one could read, write, play at dice or sleep. On the main-travelled roads there was certainly more travel for business, politics, health, knowledge and pastime than there had ever been before, than there was again for

centuries or than in parts of the East there is even today. In far the larger part of the empire there was more intercourse and higher culture from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius than afterward for centuries. Rates for travel by sea, so far as very scanty references admit a judgment, seem extraordinarily low. Lucian mentions four obols, some 12 cents, as the price of passage from the Piræus to Ægina. In Plato's time it had been only two. For two drachmas, some 36 cents, one might, according to either writer, fare from Egypt to Attica.¹⁰ Health resorts, luxuriously appointed, flourished even in the outskirts of the empire, as at Bath in England, at the German Baden-Baden and at Canopus in Egypt. Oracles and places of pious pilgrimage had never been in such resort as in the first Christian century, and famous festivals, as at Eleusis or Olympia, attracted visitors from distant lands. The attendant relaxation, moral and social, seems to have given occasion for profits as well as added zest. Lucian tells of a Nicostratus who abandoned music and poetry for ampler gains from dealing with feminine attractions on such occasions.¹¹

But if there was much travel for self-improvement, profit or pastime, there was astonishingly little for exploration or business adventure. Fables about India, Britain and the North were generally credited long after traffic with those regions had become constant. It was not till Hadrian's time and at his insistence that a systematic survey was undertaken even of the Euxine. Seneca and Strabo both conjectured that there might be a western continent but no one cared to go or send to see, though, according to Plutarch, Sertorius had thought the Madeiras "near Paradise" and popular fancy placed the Isles of the Blest just beyond Britain. The limits of Roman, by no means always voluntary, exploration were to the South Fezzan, Morocco, some 800 miles up the Nile valley and Zanzibar on the Eastern coast, Ireland to the West, the Baltic to the North and to the East Malacca, Java

¹⁰ Plato, *Gorgias*, 67; Lucian, *The Ship*, 15.

¹¹ Lucian, *Peregrinus*, I. 35. Compare Aulus Gellius, XII. 5; Julian, *Epist. ad Themist.*, p. 263, A. and for further general references Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners*, II. 91, note 6.

and Sumatra in the Indian Ocean. The traders of the Empire found no new markets and developed no new sources of supply.

Within two generations after Commodus this traffic and travel had apparently dwindled to a poor fraction of its former volume. At the nominal "conversion" of the empire it was in a fair way to complete collapse. It was no longer profitable to trade; it was no longer safe to send goods or to go for them. Till well into the third century, even after robbers had begun to infest the main-travelled roads, the Mediterranean had been kept fairly free of pirates who, with their allied kidnappers for the slavetrade, confined their operations to restricted coasts, recognized as dangerous. But after Teuton marauders had begun to ravage the Euxine shores, heralding the great Gothic invasion, the Mediterranean itself was no longer secure and it never again became so to the end of the empire. The Arabian Gulf and the Indian Ocean had been freed of pirates by Augustus and kept safe, slackly, by his early successors. But the Indiamen regularly took archer-marines for defence against piratical attack till the risks of the trade outweighed the profits of a slackening demand. In the North Sea and along the Belgian coast Saxon and German raids might have been looked for at any time, but as the aggressive power of the empire was seen to be waning these raiders ventured further, to the coast of Spain and even of Africa, which, indeed, had already pirates of its own who are since Commodus' day frequently reported as making attacks on the trade and even the ports of Spain. Failure to protect trade checked it. To make good the consequent loss of revenue from customs the port and boundary taxes were repeatedly raised till toward the last they seemed to have reached a general level of twenty-five per cent which under prevailing conditions was practically prohibitory. The inadequacy of the state to defend itself or its citizens, its fiscal ineptitudes, its bureaucratic abuses, joined to its paralyzing interventions in agriculture and industry, had so exhausted capital and killed enterprise that it could no longer justify, or even bear the burden of a united administration. Quite apart from the institutional or religious changes which undoubtedly

accelerated the collapse this had become inevitable long before Constantine. The imperial fiscal administration had destroyed one by one all its chief sources of revenue, of which, indeed, it had never known how to secure enough for an adequate defence of the well-being it brought and might readily, under intelligent fiscal direction, have secured. It is an economic tragedy but once, perhaps, equalled in history.

A TRIP TO CICERO'S HOME

By G. A. HARRER
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"Somehow or other we feel a certain emotion about those spots in which there are traces of those whom we esteem or admire." These words, which Cicero puts into the mouth of Atticus at the beginning of the second book of the *De Legibus*, explain as well as anything the motive that caused a group of three American teachers to visit Arpinum in January, 1923. The train left Rome early in the morning and in an hour or so passed Tivoli, Tibur of Roman days. Then on past Vicovaro (Varia) to which *quinque bonos patres*, tenants on Horace's Sabine farm, used to go down. (*Epist. I, 14, 3*). And soon past Mandela, located on a high ridge, and deserving in winter Horace's description; *rugosus frigore pagus*. (*Epist. I, 18, 105*).

At about noon Avezzano was reached, where it was necessary to change for Sora, and incidentally to wait for an hour and a half. We decided to spend the time walking about town, particularly in the old part; the entire town had been shaken down in the earthquake of 1915. And actually during our walk we did not find a single old house. Everything was new, built by aid of the government, which had made it possible to lay out the town on modern lines, with broad streets and sidewalks, and houses built detached, not huddled in one dense mass as they are in the old, picturesque, but uncomfortable, medieval towns. The government had evidently at first built temporary board and plaster sheds, and then had begun the permanent construction which is now nearly completed.

To Avezzano the train travels mostly toward the East and uphill. From Avezzano to Sora, mostly to the South, and downhill. The railroad takes advantage of the narrow valley

of the Liri (Liris) crossing and recrossing the stream, passing through tunnels, and always among high rugged mountains snow covered for about a third of the way from their summits. In this region the Liris will not fit Horace's description:

*Quae Liris quieta
mordet aqua taciturnus amnis. (Odes. I, 31, 7-8).*

It is rather a rushing stream. I imagine that Horace's acquaintance with it was in the low lands, further down its course, where he may have seen it when he travelled on the Via Appia or the Via Latina.

Sora, whose ancient name has lived on through the centuries, figures in Livy as a town of the Volscians from whom the Romans took it: *Sora agri Volsci fuerat sed possederant Samnites: eo quattuor milia hominum missa. Eodem anno (303 B. C.) Arpinatibus civitas data. (Livy X, 1)* With the Liris partially surrounding it, and with its citadel situated on a steep, rugged hill behind it, in the very mouth of the Liris valley, it must have absolutely commanded intercourse with the interior in that section. Today little remains of Roman times. The cathedral is built on a foundation of huge blocks of stone which may date from the Republic, and the citadel, according to the infallible Baedeker, has "remains of polygonal walls as well as traces of mediaeval castles." We had no time before dark to reach it; but we did climb to a church on a peak about half way up, from which the ruins were visible, grim and gray, amid rocks bare of all vegetation. From the point we had reached the whole valley, in which was Cicero's home, stretched out before us to the South; and immediately in back, to the North, and on the East, rose the high mountains, with the setting sun dazzling white on the snowy peaks, while a bit below was a color almost purple. Here, to complete a Roman landscape, we saw a young Italian girl of twelve or thirteen summers, in colorful dress and heavy sandals, watching a herd of goats.

Sora, too, has suffered from the earthquake. Perhaps half was destroyed, and is now being rebuilt, as at Avezzano, of stone, brick, and concrete reinforced by long iron rods to make future

shocks less destructive. Certainly the albergo, or hotel by courtesy, in which we spent the night, was not old, but a hastily built, one-story affair of wood, with thin board partitions between rooms, and boasting no means of heating whatever, which made necessary the use of overcoats indoors as well as out. It resembled a rude summer shack common to the coast of New Jersey. But the old hostess was anxious to please, and furnished a good meal of eggs, macaroni, bread and meat, though without the apples to end properly a Roman meal. In Rome itself the Horatian *ab ovo usque ad mala* often characterizes the bill of fare.

The next day we started early, planning to walk to Cicero's home and then to the town of Arpinum. There were many country people along the road, especially women carrying produce to the Sora markets. As in other parts of Italy they use their heads to support burdens, and balance them easily. Here they were carrying huge loads, bundles of wood, of hay, baskets of cabbages, surely a bushel to the basket. One woman had on her head a crate containing two chickens. Others along the jugs with nicely curved double handles, and crude spiral decor-way were drawing water in jugs of about two gallons, clay ations painted in red or black, a survival apparently of olden times. These jugs are also carried on the head. Many of the peasants wear sandals, which are not common to the vicinity of Rome; a heavy piece of leather pinched to a point in front, and fastened to the foot by several straps an inch wide. They are very irregular in shape and have, of course, no raised heel; but at least they would not pinch.

Something over two miles from Sora the road crosses several mouths of the Fibreno at its delta where it joins the Liris. It was in the neighborhood of the confluence of Fibrenus and Liris that Cicero's Villa of Arpinum, his ancestral home, was situated. If then the Fibreno is the ancient Fibrenus, and the Liri, the Liris, we were near Cicero's birth-place. At any rate the identity of each stream has long been taken for granted. And on an island, formed by two branches of the Fibrenus and by the Liris, stands the old Monastery of S. Domenico, which is

claimed, unfortunately without tangible proof, as the very spot on which Cicero's house stood. Two of the monks very kindly showed us the monastery and some remains of Roman work, including several inscriptions and a few reliefs in stone, all of much later date than the life-time of Cicero. The church belonging to the monastery is largely built of massive stones which may be of Roman origin. It was badly damaged in the earthquake of 1915; but has been rebuilt. Not long before a corner of the walls had been cracked by a quake which shook this region in the last days of December.

After our visit with the monks we were put by them in the care of a small boy, who was quite evidently pleased to guide Americans, and perhaps more pleased to carry a camera which one of us had. He took us first a short distance to the ruins of an old Roman bridge over the Liris, perhaps the very bridge by which Cicero crossed in traveling from Rome to his estate. Then he took us to another island of the delta, larger than that on which the monastery stands, and just to the north of it. It is Cicero's island, which he describes in a charming passage at the opening of *De Legibus II*. The situation is not precisely as described by Cicero. He has it that the Fibrenus divides to form an island and then reunites only to plunge at once into the Liris. Today two sides of the island are formed by the Fibrenus where it first divides; but a third side is now washed by the Liris. It has been plausibly suggested that in the course of time soil has been deposited at the lower end of the island until it has finally reached the Liris. More than a century ago an enthusiastic Englishman, Kelsall, was so convinced of the identity that he had an inscribed stone placed on the island near the upper end where, in Cicero's words, *quasi rostro finditur Fibrenus et divisus aequaliter in duas partes latera haec adluit*. Kelsall's inscription, though moss-covered, may still be deciphered: *Siste viator. Si tibi unquam placuerunt profueruntque Arpinae cartae, venerare incunabula Marci Tullii Ciceronis, et hanc insulam Fibreni Kar. Kelsall, Anglus, de sua pecun.* MDCCCXVIII.

Hereabouts the country is almost absolutely level, as it is all the way from Sora, but all around, a few miles away, are hills and mountains, especially high and rugged toward the North, and, at least in winter, capped with snow. In the *De Legibus* the charm of the place quite delights Atticus, who says that he had learned to expect from Cicero's orations and poems *nihil . . . his in locis nisi saxa et montes* — a description not here applicable, but which fits the town of Arpinum. By the Liris and Fibrenus the grass is green even in winter, and there are many poplars and alders, which should be in all natural probability the lineal descendants of the trees mentioned by Cicero.

Here was Cicero's *paternus avitusque fundus Arpinas* (*De Lege Agraria* III, 8). In the *De Legibus* he says to Atticus, *Hoc ipso in loco cum avus viveret . . . me scito esse natum*. The place is now, and always has been, far from town. Cicero was a "country boy." In later life he liked to come here during summer's heat, for mountains and streams kept it cool. He says, writing to his brother in September, 54 B. C.: *Ego ex magnis caloribus — non enim meminimus maiores — in Arpinati summa cum amoenitate fluminis me refeci ludorum diebus*. (*Ad Q. F.* III, I). In the course of an argument in the *Tusculan Disputations* (V, 74) he repeats the idea . . . *ut si quis aestuans, cum vim caloris non facile patiatur, recordari velit sese aliquando in Arpinati nostro gelidis fluminibus circumfusum fuisse*. However, vacations were not too frequent. *Ego vero, cum licet plures dies abesse, praesertim hoc tempore anni, et amoenitatem et salubritatem hanc sequor, raro suten licet*, he says in the *De Legibus*. From Rome the trip to Arpinum, about sixty miles as the crow flies, could be made in two days by the Via Latina, stopping over night, as Cicero did, at Anagnia, and then somewhere further along, probably leaving the Latin way for a road which led through Verulae, and so on over the old bridge at the Liris.

From Cicero's home the road leads on through the level valley for about a mile to Isola, a busy little town occupied with the manufacture of paper, for which the Liris furnishes water-

power. Here we lunched. From Isola to the town of Arpinum, modern Arpino, is about four miles, and a great deal of the way uphill, teaching us by hard climbing that Cicero's villa, though in the territory of ancient Arpinum, was not near the city itself. After the first stage, in about half an hour, one gets a fine view of the valley off toward Sora, to the North, but not of Cicero's estate. It is hidden behind an intervening hill.

Perhaps here we were looking over the site of Marius' home, for he, too, belonged to the district. Or if we did not see the site of his home, perhaps we saw the site of the famous tree, the oak of Marius, or maybe the tree itself, which, in the words of Quintus Cicero, *manet vero, Attice noster, et semper manebit; sata est enim ingenio*. Our chance to see it may have been almost as good as that of Atticus, who had read of it in Cicero's Marius, and thought to see it on his visit to Arpinum. But Cicero does not encourage him — it was perhaps a tree of story and poetry rather than of fact. The story, as Cicero tells it in an extant bit of his poem, is to the effect that Marius predicted his future successes by the actions of an eagle and a serpent in an old oak. One might wonder, from this tale, whether the fact that Marius made the legionary standard an eagle was due to his early experience, or whether the fact that he made the eagle the symbol for his legions gave rise to the story. At any rate one may imagine that somewhere near the Liris stood the oak, whether a poetical or actual oak, for Cicero in the *Marius*, so describes the victory of the eagle:

Abiicit efflantem et laceratum adfligit in unda.

Along the road to Arpinum there are out-of-door threshing-floors to be seen in farmyards. They are perfectly round, some thirty feet in diameter, curbed with stone about one foot high, and paved with brick or concrete. In these the grain is threshed out by driving animals around on it, or by hand with flails. One of us asked a boy the name of them. He said "aia." Later a man told us "ara." It is of course the Roman *area*. Horace again comes to mind with his *milia frumenti tua triverit area centum*. (*Sat. I, 1, 45*) and the *quidquid de Libycis verritur*

areis of the first of his *Odes*. The modern floor can not differ very much from what Cato, and Varro, and Vergil knew. A good deal of farm work was going on, though in the winter. In particular we saw men pruning and cutting out dead wood from olive trees, which seem to live forever, and to need only a little bark to keep alive; the heart of the wood appears quite unessential. The people of the district are evidently hard workers, but they appear well fed, and are quite sturdy. Cicero's description might still be applied; *Tota denique nostra illa aspera et montuosa et fidelis et simplex et faultrix suorum regio*. (*Pro Plancio IX, 22*). We met several men who had been in America. How they do like to talk "American," especially if they can do it in the presence of some neighbors who can not equal their linguistic attainments.

Finally Arpinum came in sight, a town on a steep hill of rock partly bare, and with the older town and citadel still higher. Up to this, the ancient *arx*, we climbed. It boasts a long stretch of very ancient polygonal wall constructed of huge stones, and in remarkably good condition. It was strengthened in medieval days by round towers. At the top one ancient gateway remains, built before the days when the Roman arch was common, by gradually extending stones from each side and so causing them to meet at the top in a false arch. It must have been old when Cicero was a boy. No doubt he saw it when he went from the farm to town. In making the gateway the ancient builders turned their wall to right angles to allow just enough space for the opening, and then turned it again at about right angles to make it run in the same general line as before. After some fifty feet they turned it slightly outward. The position of wall and gate is then such that besiegers would expose their right side in advancing to attack, and, when near the gate, would also expose their backs to defenders on the wall.

Before dark we got down to the modern town to take a bus for the station. Our presence attracted a crowd of people who rarely see Americans. Among them was the inevitable Italian who has been in America. While we talked with him, an old

fellow came up, shook hands quite formally, and began to talk. But it was the end of a long day; we were tired and no longer amused, so a pretended ignorance of all tongues but English seemed a convenient refuge. Not so. Our new acquaintance insisted that we should speak French, and entered on a long argument to the effect that French was the international language which all should know. Our Italo-American friend with difficulty persuaded him. "These men are Americans, they come from America, and speak only 'American' and it's all right that they should."

Finally we got away in our bus on the long, down-hill ride to the station, whence by train a few miles to Roccasecca, and then by the Naples express, late at night, to Rome.

TAKING THE MEASURE OF LATIN

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In this time of strain and stress and world-adjustment, vast movements are on foot, the outcome of which it is hard to forecast. Education in America is drifting from safe and conservative moorings; and it will require leadership of the first order to save even a modest place in the sun for subjects that make no appeal on a dollars and cents basis.

The larger schools of the Atlantic seaboard may not feel the pressure in an alarming degree; and some indeed are so happy as to be confronted with no problem more serious than that of dividing into separate groups, according to ability, the multitude of students who elect Latin, adapting the work to suit the capabilities of each group.¹

But this by no means represents the situation the country over; and, in the West particularly, Latin is being slowly and steadily eliminated from the smaller schools. The problem is best illustrated by a concrete case, the name of the school being withheld for obvious reasons.

The school has an enrolment of 70; and, including the principal, there are six teachers. The official program shows the following list of subjects taught in the year 1922-1923:

Algebra (elem.)	Farm Mechanics
American History and Civics	Farm Physics
Bookkeeping	Farm Science
Citizenship, etc.	General Science
Commercial Arithmetic	Geometry
Community Civics	Glee Club
Cooking	History of Music
English	Physical Training

¹ See The High School Latin Course, by Miss Cora A. Pickett, *Classical Weekly*, XVI, p. 130 ff. (March 5, 1923).

Physics	Spelling
Piano	Trigonometry and Solid Geo.
School Paper	Typing
School Plays	Vocal (?)
Spanish (first yr.)	Writing
Speaking	

Subjoined to this program is a list of courses "given last year, and not this." Among the omitted subjects are Chemistry, Ancient History, Latin, and Algebra II.

A reader unfamiliar with local conditions might be impressed with the strength of mathematics in this course. It is probable that Algebra II, named in the list of omissions, is rotated with something else in alternate years. If so, the student has a chance to do a good piece of work in mathematics.

But it does not by any means follow that an 'academic subject' like advanced mathematics is voluntarily thus honored. It is far more likely that some boys from the school intend to take an engineering course in college, where they will be handicapped and retarded, if they do not matriculate with credit for advanced mathematics and science.

But other 'academic subjects' can easily be sacrificed. For if any other pupils go on to college, they can make a fresh start there with foreign language, history, political science, and other subjects for which there is little or no prerequisite.

It is freely admitted that the school chosen for illustration presents an extreme case; but it none the less clearly shows what is happening in the smaller high schools in a great part of the country. Cultural education and high standards are going by the board, and Latin shares the common fate.

If we lose the small high school, Latin will cease to be a universal subject, open to all classes. It will be within the reach only of a favored few. It behooves all those who deprecate such an issue to join forces with advocates of the other cultural subjects, in an effort to keep open even in the smaller schools the opportunity for that which is highest and best in education.

This is a call to no simple and easy task. The schools today

are crowded with mediocre students, who have no cultural background at home. The matter has been further aggravated by recent legislation compelling all young people of high school age to enroll for school work. A school visitor, in the hearing of the writer, complained bitterly of the deadly effect of the low-grade material forced upon the schools, saying that it was necessary to lower the standard to the bald and the concrete, because so many of the pupils find abstract ideas beyond their grasp.

It is true that many view this situation with complacency, on the ground that courses of study should be arranged to suit the needs of the majority, and that, in a democracy, what is good enough for one is good enough for all.² Recently Professor T. H. Briggs, of Teachers' College, Columbia University, contributed to the *School Review*³ an article entitled *What Next in Secondary Education?* He there forecasts a reconstruction on the lines of Modern School principles, and concludes:

The adaptation of means to individuals will result in lower standards for some, it is true, but in higher standards for others.⁴

I wish to enter emphatic protest here. Granted that a mistake was made twenty years ago in being so slow to provide for the needs of the non-academic type of student in the high schools; we are now on the eve of a still more grievous error if, in caring for the majority, we neglect the talented minority, and stunt their abilities by condemning them to tasks that do not adequately develop their powers.

This is a situation that cannot be cured by ignoring it. The small school, of course, finds it difficult to subdivide students on

² One is reminded at this point of J. Fenimore Cooper's satire called *The Monikins*. He represents his hero as visiting the land of these remarkable apes, where, noting that they all have tails of the same length, he is thus enlightened by one of them: "You allude to our tails?—Why, Sir, nature has dealt out these ornaments with a very unequal hand, as you may perceive by looking out of the window. We agree that the tail is the seat of reason, and that the extremities are the most intellectual parts; but, as governments are framed to equalize these natural inequalities, we denounce them as anti-republican. The law requires, therefore, that every citizen, on attaining his majority, shall be docked agreeably to a standard measure that is kept in each district. Without some such expedient, there might be an aristocracy of intellect among us, and there would be an end to our liberties."

³ September 1922, 521 ff.

⁴ *L. c.* p. 532.

the basis of ability; and, while we wait, mere force of numbers is closing to many the door of opportunity. It is hard to think of any one thing that is likely to help Latin more than the discovery of ways and means to save a place for cultural education in the small high school.

Other dangers threatening high standards in education loom along the horizon. In one of the largest States of the Union a recent popular vote reduced the qualifications required in those who would practice medicine. And a neighboring State, at about the same time, by an initiative measure made it a misdemeanor, punishable by fine, to allow a child below a certain age or grade to attend any but a public school.

It is not the detail here that is significant, but the fact that an uninstructed public is taking upon itself, by sheer force of numbers, to dictate in matters on which only experts should pass. To deprive a parent of the right to educate his child in the way that seems to him best certainly looks in the direction of certain European horrors,⁵ and none can tell whereunto this thing will grow. One trembles for the future of cultural education, if its fate is to rest upon the vote of those who know it not by experience, and whose normal attitude toward it is one of jealousy and resentment. Human nature does not change much, and Cicero was surely right: *An hoc non ita fit omni in populo? Nonne omnem exsuperantiam virtutis oderunt?*⁶

Under the shadow of these portentous and unsolved issues, the Latin household is concentrating its attention upon a program of measurement, with a view to improvement in methods of teaching the subject. In regard to this venture, no illusions should be cherished.

In the first place, it is perfectly clear that revision of the Latin course of study will not stay the forces that are crowding out cul-

⁵ It is understood that the constitutionality of this measure is now being tested in the courts.

⁶ *Tusc. Disp.* v. 105. He has some other things to say that are very much to the point in this connection; but we cannot more than whisper them in this day and generation: *An tibicines iique, qui fidibus utuntur, suo, non multitudinis arbitrio cantus numerosque moderantur, vir sapiens, multo arte maiore praeditus, non quid verissimum sit, sed quid velit vulgus, exquiret? An quicquam stultius quam, quos singulos sicut operarios barbarosque contemnas, eos aliquid putare universos?* (*ibid.* v. 104).

tural education in general, and Latin in particular, from multitudes of the schools of the country. In fact, the measurement program may prove in some respects a drawback, if it distracts attention from the far larger and more important problems that press for immediate attention, if the situation is to be saved.

In the second place, it is equally obvious that the whole matter of educational measurements is still in the experimental stage. Indeed, the one thing yet clearly demonstrated is the fallibility of such tests, and the danger in using them as a basis for hasty curriculum changes.

A striking example is found at the very start, where Thorndike's early experiments were seized upon as demonstrating the absence of transfer of training, thus providing Dr. Flexner with a chief-corner stone of fallacy on which to build his Modern School.

Quite recently, Professor T. H. Briggs, mentioned above, contributed to the *Classical Journal* a critique of the Lohr-Latshaw Latin test,⁷ finding nine defects in the method. Shortly before this Professor Briggs himself stood sponsor for another test administered to first-term Latin students.⁸ Its numerous defects are discussed fully elsewhere,⁹ and I here call attention to one only.

To show what had been learned of the pronunciation of Latin, the children were allowed four minutes for the following exercise:

IX. PRONUNCIATION

Underscore what most nearly rhymes with each of the Latin words in the first column.

Alpha

1. se	see	tzay	zee	say
2. apud	flood	feud	food	mud
3. cui	cue-ee	cue-eye	kwee	koo-ee
4. pilum	pile oom	peel loom	pea loom	pill um
5. urbs	usurps	suburbs	chirps	verbs
6. miser	wiser	we sir	nicer	tweezer
7. etiam	ate a ham	eighty am	meaty yam	weighty alm
8. portare	poor tar-y	pour tar-y	pour tarry	poor tarr

⁷ XVIII, 451 ff. (May, 1923).

⁸ *Classical Weekly*, XVI, 148 ff. (March 19, 1923).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 145 ff.

Beta

1. diu	lieu	do	see-oo	menu
2. proel(ium)	cool	steal	broil	bowl
3. domus	home us	from us	doom us	dumb us
4. vel	well	vell	veil	wail
5. aeger	tiger	vaguer	Elijah	ouija
6. iam	I am	yam	calm	see alm
7. bellum	bell oom	bell yume	bell loom	bell lyume
8. Thebae	Thebe eye	tabe eye	they eye	teeb eye

This part of the test would be open to less criticism, if the director of the examination pronounced for the students the gibberish of the last four columns. But the fact that a time limit of four minutes is set seems to indicate that the pupils were left to their own devices.

It would be interesting to test a number of intelligent adults on the pronunciation of this gibberish; I venture the opinion that it would be hard to find two who would agree in every particular. What then of the use of such material in a test of first-term Latin students in a polyglot community, urged on by the four-minute limit?

It may be that in time the matter of educational measurement will reach solid ground; but, as said above it is yet in the experimental stage, and it should not be made the basis of hasty curriculum changes.

In this connection it ought to be noted that it is not humanly possible for educationalists to be equally conversant with all subjects of study. It follows therefore that, in the business of testing, the educationalist should be checked at every point by experienced teachers of the particular subject. I do not mean that the teacher should be "allowed to make suggestions," but that he should be taken in on equal terms on the basis of his special knowledge.

Some illustrations may make this point clearer. Thus, Professor Briggs, in his critique of the Lohr-Latshaw test, is surprised to find that when students of successive years are tested on isolated forms, the beginners rate about as high as the more advanced pupils.¹⁰

¹⁰ L. c., page 458.

He assumes that the reading of successive years should increase rapidly the student's ability to recognize isolated forms, and avers that the actual state of the case raises questions "of the gravest moment to those concerned to improve the status of Latin in our secondary schools."

Without any formal test at all, an experienced teacher of Latin is aware of the fact that fills Professor Briggs with surprise and concern, namely that, without specific review and drill, the student's ability to recognize isolated forms cannot be expected to increase much.

This simple fact raises no question "of gravest moment." It may indeed suggest the desirability of more drill on isolated forms; but, at the same time, the fact remains that the more advanced students, through using forms *in their connection*, and through acquisition of an enlarged vocabulary, are steadily increasing their knowledge of Latin. Any fair, all-around test would show this; whereas an attempt to generalize from an isolated cross section leads into serious error.

One of Professor Briggs's criticisms of the Lohr-Latshaw test reads in part as follows:

The directions should clearly demand the classification of verbs as regular and irregular as well as belonging to one of the four conjugations. *Est* and *ferat*, e.g., should of course be marked *ir*, but *dat* should be marked *ir* and I.¹¹

It may be questioned why the verb *do* with its short *a* should be reckoned with the long *a* conjugation. In fact, it is rather hard to see at what Professor Briggs is driving here. It is quite likely that some students, quite guiltless of any knowledge of the short *a* in this verb, would class it as I; while others, equally guiltless of a knowledge of the short *a*, would class it as *ir*, because they recalled the circumstance and time of learning the verb, or because they visualized it as appearing in the book among the irregular verbs, and apart from the regular paradigms.¹²

¹¹ Page 464.

¹² The Lohr-Latshaw test as seen on page 465 suggests another thought. This test is as clear as others of its kind; yet it has very much the appearance

There is another very serious mistake made by experts none too well acquainted with the actual teaching of Latin, in that they write down the subject as a failure, or even as a menace, because the translations offered by students are not in impeccable English. As a matter of fact, the struggle of the student to express himself even in imperfect English is a wholesome exercise; and the danger in the use of irregular English in such connection is very much exaggerated.

In the writer's school days a matter of fact fellow pupil caused infinite distress to a high-strung teacher by plodding along "Caesar said himself to be about to cross," etc. But though the boy was hardly to be broken of this habit when struggling with his Latin, I never heard him say elsewhere "John said himself to be about to go to the game," or the like. That whole vocabulary dropped away as soon as class was over, just as a preacher drops Scriptural phraseology as soon as his prayer is finished. Classical teachers have often hurt their own cause by admitting what is *not* true under this head.¹³

Another mistake made by those engaged in testing programs is that they take it for granted that there is nothing which cannot be reduced to tabulation in black and white. Because they cannot be weighed, the imponderable values of a study are ignored, though, as a matter of fact, they may be most important of all. It is a real pleasure to quote a professor of English in this connection:¹⁴

"If the student of English never attains to anything like expert knowledge of the language of the classics, his having only a passing of the mechanism of a voting machine. Those who have seen substantial citizens come raging from the polls because 'they had voted for someone they did not want' will be ready to believe that there is a large percentage of error in the attempt of students to tabulate their knowledge here.

¹³ The writer holds no brief for the use of poor English anywhere, but he does wish fair play for Latin. Critics of Latin doubtless have in mind, as the norm, such English as is worked out in T. L. Bouscaren's paper on Artistic Translation as an Aid to English Composition, *Classical Journal* XVIII, 408 ff. (April, 1923). The plan there outlined is admirable for a class in English that has a background of Latin. But such results can never be hoped for in average Latin classes. Even granting the ability of the students, there would be no time left to teach *Latin*.

¹⁴ H. R. Wilson, *Translations in Relation to the Originals*, *Classical Journal*, XVIII, 261 ff. (February, 1923).

acquaintance with the originals in Greek and Latin is of the highest importance. The value of this acquaintance cannot be overemphasized. We can supply no literary substitute. Such a contact with the originals will give him a point of attachment that will never lose its charm. Through this experience there will always remain a touch, a flavor, of the original, regardless of the inferiority of the translation at hand."

Tell this to the apostle of the Modern School or to some measurer with his rod and line, and he will laugh you to scorn.¹⁵ But if he is blind, we need not follow his leadership.

In view of the considerations here set down, three conclusions seem to be justified:

(1) No sudden and drastic changes in curriculum should be made on the basis of the apparent results of formal measurements. If, after some years of practical testing, the results are found to be valid, then it will be full time to advocate curriculum changes.

(2) No teacher should make a change in method on the basis of the supposed results of formal measurement, if these results are at variance with previous actual experience in teaching.

(3) No teacher should make a change in method without knowing clearly the reasons. This caution is necessary, partly because there is a tendency at large to win adventitious weight for certain pronouncements by clothing simple facts in technical terminology,¹⁶ partly because it is human nature to give unmerited credence to anyone who professes to be an expert in a field in which one is not himself at home.¹⁷ If in doubt, it is better to wait.

In conclusion, it should be noted that a measuring program for Latin inevitably skirts closely the danger of bringing into undue

¹⁵ On the unmeasured values, it is worth while to consult a psychologist. See *Developing Mental Power* (pp. 47 ff.) by G. M. Stratton, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1922.

¹⁶ Sinclair Lewis has a word that is quite in point here (*Babbitt*, Chap. vi): "He had enormous and poetic admiration, though with very little understanding, of all mechanical devices. They were his symbols of truth and beauty. Regarding each new, intricate mechanism—metal lathe, two-jet carburator, machine gun, oxyacetalene welder—he learned one good realistic-sounding phrase, and used it over and over, with a delightful sense of being technical and initiated."

¹⁷ For example, such statements as Professor Briggs makes on pages 462 and 463 of the article above cited may be sound; but this should not be taken for granted on an ipse dixit basis.

prominence certain measurable byproducts, and of losing sight of the high ideal of Latin as an end in itself.

As reported in the Boston *Evening Transcript* a year ago, Dean West struck the proper keynote:

"We are not especially concerned either with the classics or mathematics as isolated studies, but with maintaining, improving and strengthening all good general education which rests on the idea of training the minds and habits of our American boys and girls by studies which strongly exercise their intelligence and invigorate their characters. Thus, from among our people may the best trained leaders be raised up for our people.

We are trying to revive in power the standards of thought and duty which made the American character of the virile and patriotic type. We want this chance available for every capable boy and girl who can take it. We are the friends of all studies which really train and inform the mind. They are all endangered now, both by the sordid materialistic view of life and duty and the morally enfeebling sentimental view."

Little wonder that the editor of the *Transcript* exclaims: "There is a programme worth fighting for." It is; but it cannot be realized, unless the friends of culture combine to save what is most worth while in the school curriculum. There is no way out through paltering with the Modern School, or in compromise with the commercial and popularizing spirit of present day educational theory.¹⁸

¹⁸ This does not mean that there will not continue to be, as now, a certain number of schools that will teach applied 'Latin' because they can handle nothing better. But such schools with an inferior program should be the exception, not the norm.

GREEK HUMOR IN VASE PAINTINGS

By WALTER R. AGARD
St. John's College, Annapolis

It is something to realize that the Greeks laughed. Too often we have thought of them with the cool admiration with which we regard those pale plaster casts in our museums, forgetting that the originals had a closer connection with life, and that doubtless a Greek would have agreed with William Morris when he said, "There is something melancholy about a museum." We have thought of them as living in a golden age, and have needed such books as Mr. Zimmern's to remind us how it was in reality an age of iron that cut into men's souls, when only by ceaseless effort could hellenic peoples safeguard their frontier of civilization. In other words, we have preferred to praise rather than to understand. But Greek culture needs our praise less than we need its contact; and one way of getting on terms of understanding will be to see the Greeks in terms of their common life. If then we regard them with less awe, we shall at least gain a closer sense of comradeship.

But it is more valuable still to know at what they laughed. *Pense quand tu ris.* Nothing is more significant than laughter. Through all the subtleties of definition that have been proposed, from Aristotle to Max Eastman, one element runs: we laugh at the unnormal, which appears to us or to our group a defect, an ugliness, an inferiority, an incongruity. If this be so, is it not clear that by studying the objects of Greek laughter we shall gain an insight into Greek standards of conduct, fitness and propriety, utilizing an unpurposed, hence authentic, statement of Greek taste?

Of course Greek literature is the chief source. We shall find in the Olympian scenes in the *Iliad*, the whimsical narrative of the *Odyssey*, the satire of Archilochus, the full-flavored humor

of Aristophanes, the cruel wit of the Anthology, scenes from Menander and Theocritus, material for such a study. But supplementing this there is another source of information: the most popular and unassuming of the arts, that of the vase-painter. Among the thousands of vases, we have many that were painted in mirthful mood. An examination of them will show what were some of the subjects of Greek laughter; it will also suggest stages of development in the sense of humor, which throw sidelights on the course of Greek history. This is especially the case in four periods and places: sixth-century Ionia, fifth-century Athens, fourth-century Boeotia, hellenistic Magna Graecia.

I.

The earliest examples of humorous painting are found on Ionian vases of the sixth century, B. C. Drawing conclusions from a small number of these vases, we find three motives: a naive admiration of physical force; a sense of racial superiority; a genial fellow-feeling toward the gods. In addition, as we should expect in Ionia, there is considerable playful fantasy and even personal caricature.

In Heracles pictures we see the first two motives illustrated. Heracles was at this time the ideal hero of the Greeks. Relying on his strength, he imposed his will on hostile animals and peoples. So he symbolizes the effort of the ambitious hellenic states to build and preserve a new culture in the face of age-weary, corrupt and jealous civilizations. One vase represents him at the court of the barbarian king, Busiris, dealing summarily with the Libyans who had intended to sacrifice him on the altar. He is killing six at one blow, grasping one by the leg, another by the neck, strangling two with his elbows and standing firmly on the necks of two more. Again, this strong and earnest hero takes grim pleasure in discomfiting the shifty Eurystheus, who has plotted his destruction; like an animal-trainer he holds in leash the ravenous Cerberus, while the unhappy ruler seeks refuge in a wine jar and raises his hands in terror.

If we are to "beware of the man whose god is in the skies,"

of these Ionians we need have no fear. Their gods were brought down to earth with a vengeance, sharing the vices of men as well as their virtues, and superior to them only in terms of power. How far the gods were to be laughed at in the *Iliad* is a question. But they are certainly caricatured in a vase-painting of the Judgment of Paris. Paris stands in dignified fashion in front of his cattle, his hand extended in hospitality. A crow has perched on the cow behind him to join in the inspection, and a dog sits on his haunches and peers around, his tongue lolling and his tail jauntily raised. Priam leads the procession, followed by Hermes, who looks back and extends a warning finger toward Hera. She is a matronly lady, resembling the White Queen in "Though the Looking Glass," as with somewhat stupid regal dignity she unveils her beauty. Behind her comes Athena, the "high-brow" par excellence, incredibly ugly, with a little nose, receding chin, and four stiff braids of hair emerging from under her round helmet; her aegis covers an angular, flat breast; she has thoughtfully invested in a gaily-decorated mantle, and she fussily grasps a spear. Next is Aphrodite, in the dress of a demi-mondaine, a gay, short mantle, with tassels hanging from the shoulders, and a transparent chiton which reveals her shapely figure. Her luxuriant hair is gathered far back on her head. She raises one hand with studied concern, but one can hardly question that she is confident of the outcome. It is a priceless picture.

Hephaestus is also a favorite subject for comedy, as he is in Homer. The scene of his home-coming to Olympus is often played up. The god is pictured riding sideways on a mule, holding a rhyton of wine to his lips, while rollicking satyrs herald his coming. Even Zeus is not spared. There is certainly humor in a picture of Europa on the bull; she is nonchalantly smelling a flower, while a dolphin guides the god toward a little island where a rabbit skips toward a grove of three small trees.

II.

In instructive contrast to all this is the fine-flavored humor of vases of fifth-century Athens. It is the comedy of social cus-

toms which interests these painters. The gods are almost never made fun of. Instead, there are two new subjects: the revels of satyrs and of the *jeunesse dorée*.

The satyrs and silenoi, representing animal nature uncontrolled by intelligence, come into great vogue, not only for presentation as before, but as subjects of laughter. They are pictured in all sorts of extravagant dances and postures; they stand on their heads, ride on wine-skins and on the phallos-bird, are led captive, solemnly impersonate philosophers. On a vase by Brygos a satyr holds a leopard up by the tail, while another has just struck a chord on a great lyre and sings, head upraised in rapture; a nymph threatens to hit him with her thyrsus, and a man ahead turns around in manifest annoyance.

Banquet scenes, dances and revels of the younger set are also very popular. Euphronios took delight in picturing drunken youths, indulgently laughing at them for their disregard of the maxim: Nothing to excess. On one vase a boy has his head sunk on his chest, his hand to his stomach, while two companions come gaily dancing in with basins, arms extended and the palm of the hands affectedly outstretched. Again, a youth is sick while a bald-headed man plays the pipes to cheer him up; and on a third, a Falstaff-figured man is ill while his dog comes curiously up to investigate. Some of Brygos' pictures of over-modest youth are probably drawn with facetious intent; and maladroit athletes are treated without mercy.

III.

The rude and uncouth humor of fourth-century Boeotia is vastly different from the fine-edged and graceful presentation of even coarse subjects in Athens. Our evidence is from a rich find of vases from a sanctuary near Thebes. There can be no doubt that the drawing is consciously comic. On one of the vases the god Cabeirus, a divinity not unlike Dionysus, and attended by his hobgoblins as Dionysus was by his satyrs, is represented reclining at a banquet; he is accompanied by two grotesque figures, Protolaos and Mitos, who have noses, unkempt hair, receding chins and frenzied eyes.

On one of these vases a squat pigmy, with great, almond eyes and a ferocious mouth, has grasped a crane by the neck; on another two nimble nymphs dance to the strains of a flute played by a waggish silen, whose distended cheeks make one realize why Alcibiades refused to spoil his beauty by learning to play. Many mythological scenes are pictured: Cephalus on the hunt, hopping behind his dog; Bellerophon attacking the Chimaera, while Pegasus is alarmed and has to be dragged resolutely toward the scene of battle. Cadmus, the legendary founder of the city, did not escape; he is represented as a traveler drawing water at a spring, a bulbous-nosed, goggle-eyed man of unfortunate figure, who suddenly catches sight of a great snake among the reeds and falls backward in fright, the pail flying over his head and his staff bending like a tendril.

But the most illuminating of these caricatures deal with the adventures of Odysseus. If in Attica he was admired for his cleverness, the provincial Boeotians dealt with him less sympathetically. On a scyphus in the British Museum, Circe is pictured offering her potion to the wanderer, who unsteadily leans upon a knotty staff. Her squat appearance, snub nose, protruding lips and receding forehead are hardly in her favor, but Odysseus looks gullible. On an Oxford vase two scenes are pictured. One is the Circe episode again; here, Circe, big-mouthed and wild-eyed, is offering her magic potion in a most determined manner, vigorously stirring the contents of the bowl with a pestle, and Odysseus, big-bellied and grotesque, is starting back in consternation. On the other side of this vase the burly figure of Odysseus astride his raft, which is simply two wine-jars put mouth to mouth; he has stolen the trident of Poseidon, and is trying to spear a fish with it, while a head of Boreas puffs him along over the sea.

IV.

The fourth and third centuries are a period of realism and individualism, marked by political and economic instability, an emphasis on family life rather than the state, the breakdown of religious sanctions. All this appears in the popular theatrical

performances among the Greeks of Magna Graecia, notably Paestum and Tarentum. Our knowledge of the plays, the precursors of later Latin comedy, is gained from the large number of vases reproducing scenes from them. These so-called phlyakes were slight, often improvised, farce-comedies, dealing freely with all subjects from religious myth to everyday experience, in a manner comparable in one case to the medieval mysteries and in the other to modern burlesque vaudeville. In the paintings the stage and properties are ordinarily represented along with the actors.

These pictures show the most impudent irreverence toward the gods and heroes, and a keen appreciation of the humor of everyday life.

Zeus, father of gods and men, is handled mercilessly. On one vase he is pictured at dead of night beneath the window of a courtesan. With spare, white hair, and ugly, wrinkled face and a droll little crown, he cautiously approaches the window, his head between the rungs of the ladder he carries. Hermes on tiptoe holds a lamp to light the way. At the window above appears the face of the hetaira, calculating and serene. Again, he is about to be consulted by an infirm old man; he sits on a platform, crouched up in as small space as possible, looking very worried, and, in his nervousness, clutching his unlucky eagle by its throat. Heracles is pictured in his apotheosis, carrying a basket of cakes which he should place on the altar; instead, he is devouring them before the very eyes of Zeus, who, perched daintily on his high, narrow throne, is wiggling his feet in helpless anger and glaring at Heracles; a tiny eagle is on his sceptre, and he brandishes his thunderbolt. Heracles holds the basket carefully to the rear, so that Zeus is quite unable to reach it.

Apollo shares the dishonors. Arrived at Delphi, Heracles uses characteristic means of securing pardon; he has pursued Apollo up to the extreme beam of the temple, on which Apollo is seated, holding his precious bow and laurel branch as far over the edge as possible. Heracles has sprung upon the tripod, and tempts Apollo with a basket of cakes, but in his other hand

has his club ready. Iolaus stands below, hand outstretched to catch the bow in case Apollo lets it drop; this seems likely, for he is just about to fall off the beam into a bowl of holy water below. Heracles on the other vases is caricatured as disillusioned in love and ill-mannered as a guest.

Other gods and heroes are not spared. Hephaestus and Ares are pictured in a ridiculous duel. Two actors make up a gaunt and angular Chiron. "come for the cure." Leda, stout and stupid, peers out of a door while Helen emerges from the great egg broken by Hephaestus. Priam clutches an altar while Neoptolemus, tall and ungainly, delays the execution long enough to deliver a typically Greek peroration. The Ajax-Cassandra legend is reversed; Ajax clings to the statue of Athena while Cassandra grasps him by the helmet and plants her knee on his neck. Antigone has disguised an old man to impersonate her in burying her brother's body; he has been arrested and confounds Cleon and the police by the disclosure of his identity. On a crater in the Louvre Odysseus is represented as a breaker of hearts at the island of Phaeacia. Queen Arete rushes rapturously to greet him, arms outstretched; she is ugly in the conventional comic fashion, and wears a cheap little crown. He, looking a bit bored, "*en homme qui connait les belles manières, se présente d'un air avantageux, avec l'attitude chère aux jeunes élégants, le pied gauche ramené en arrière, le manteau savamment drapé sur l'épaule*" (Collignon).

Of especial interest are the phryges vases which give scenes from daily life. They deal with subjects which we shall recognize as still familiar stock topics of vaudeville humor.

Here is the farmer, come to town. He is a bent, wizened old chap, leaning uneasily beside his traveling bag. Before him is the typical pompous under-official, a stout, irritable man, thoroughly hideous, who holds a tremendous tablet of accounts out toward his secretary, while he raises a menacing finger at the farmer. The stenographer is drawn with a protruding lip, broad nose, wrinkled brow and short, frizzled hair gathered in a little knot over her forehead; she is picking her teeth with a sty-

lus. Evidently the farmer will receive slight consideration from these financial experts.

Miser and thief figure prominently. Here is a miser who sleeps on his treasure chest; two thieves rudely awaken him and proceed to drag him off, while a servant shows no intention of helping his master. Again, a skinny old man gets away with a jar of wine and a honey-cake; he stops to sample the cake, bending his head with absent-minded joy in his eyes, while the ugly, bejeweled victim rushes up with wild gesticulation.

Other vases picture revels and gluttony, fights over women and strained relations between masters and servants.

An old, white-haired man is shown dragging home his son, who is stubbornly drunk, from a party. A thin old man and a swarthy young one each grasp a coarse-featured woman, whose eyes seek the corner above in stage terror. The servant scenes are of various sorts. In one a slave is being stoutly trounced, while a spectator thumbs his nose; again, a benevolent master turns around when his attendant, struggling under the weight of a bed-sack and a basket, calls out in anguish. An old man and woman are stuffing bread, cakes and fruit into their mouths as rapidly as possible, not observing that meanwhile their servant is slipping cakes into his doublet with even greater speed. A jolly picture shows two slaves dancing along, bearing aloft in their hands a great roast on a spit; one carries a pail of wine; both prance along in gay anticipation, while a flute-girl leads the way.

V.

Without insisting too dogmatically on the significance of these humorous pictures, we may nevertheless fairly claim for them some value in indicating social norms of the four periods. Sixth-century Ionia, home of spiritual as well as material expansion, conscious of hellenic superiority, refused to take either the old gods or the barbarians too seriously. Athens, just reaching the days of her greatest amplitude and mesotes, seriously concerned with developing an educative and ethical order, laughed without

bitterness at sheer strength unguided by intelligence, and at the sorry result of revels carried to excess. Fourth-century Boeotia, relatively provincial and phlegmatic, treated with coarse humor the most chivalrous and imaginative of legends. Magna Graecia, in a time of moral and political decadence, ruthlessly laughed at the old gods and heroes, and began to examine in the light of comedy social situations of ordinary life.

THE READING CIRCLE'S PROGRAM

By A. L. KEITH
University of South Dakota

The Reading Circle of the Classical Association, authorized at the Madison meeting and endorsed at the Columbia meeting, has through its committee provided suggestive programs, which have already been published. The present writer has been asked to make a statement setting forth the particular values of Vergil in Part I and of all the authors of Part III of this program. These values may not be so apparent to the great majority of our young teachers as they are to the others, yet we may all with advantage review the attractions of the various writers.

The authors suggested afford a sufficient variety to suit a wide range of tastes. Other authors will find their place in the modified programs of succeeding years. The present program offers the opportunity of following the development of Roman life and literature to some extent. A more balanced program will provide in later years for the earlier writers and for more prose writers. But Rome was not built in a day. The program now presented is practicable and sufficiently varied. The main thing is for the teacher to realize the importance of acquiring the reading habit. Instead of saying you do not have time to read, say you have not time *not* to read. It is the habit that counts. There is no incentive to good teaching like the practice of learning something new yourself. There is nothing so deadening in the class-room as contact with a teacher who does not regularly add to his store of knowledge. The practice of learning is contagious. Learn and you inspire those about you and those under your care, to learn. It means a hundred per cent increase in your efficiency, it means promotion, it means enjoyment. Turn for an hour a day from the brief-lived jazz-

literature of today and seek the society of those writers whose fame has withstood the test of ages.

Lucretius attracts the modern reader for several reasons, the relative importance of which it is very difficult to appraise. First, he is a representative of a great creed, Epicureanism, which every student should know. Next, he has to a remarkable degree anticipated modern science and speculative thought. Again, though dealing in a material which was most refractory, he succeeded in expressing his thought in a style noble and impressive and not lacking in the graces that attract and delight the reader. To these reasons may be added the fact that in the exposition of his philosophy, he shows a seriousness rarely equalled. As Mrs. Browning says,

"he denied
Divinely the divine, and died
Chief poet by the Tiber side."

This great moral earnestness, approaching a divine frenzy, is the quality we most frequently associate with his name and which would probably hold the reader's interest, even if other reasons were lacking.

Vergil will generally be the first preference in a Latin reading course. That he, the greatest of Latin writers and one of the greatest in universal history, has been assigned by custom to high school is a most fortunate opportunity. But this opportunity loses much of its value, if the teacher's knowledge is limited to the amount usually read in the secondary schools. The first requisite of the teacher of Vergil is to know the entire Aeneid. It is almost equally important to have read the *Bucolics* and the *Georgics*. Vergil may be read repeatedly without waste of time. He is an inexhaustible mine of thought and poetic fancy. He spans the great divide between the ancient and the modern worlds of thought. Forerunner of Christianity, profound thinker on the problems of universal nature, deeply sympathetic with the doubtful doom of human kind, he has many points of contact with the thought-currents of today. To the alert mind he always has a challenge. Landscape-lover, lord of

language, expressing himself in golden phrases or in the charm of a subtle, lonely word, he never disappoints those whose quest is for beauty.

The study of Ovid offers several attractions. He is a faithful mirror of the gay but corrupt society following the establishment of the Empire. No one questions his poetic genius though many question the use he made of it. Ovid was no Juvenal decrying the vices of his day, but with easy acquiescence he followed the crowd. He expressly disclaims any interest in the old and deliberately chooses the new. In this respect he has many points of affinity with our own jazz-loving day. Ovid is interesting as an example of extreme susceptibility to circumstances. From the brilliant court life of his time he derived his inspiration. When driven back upon himself in exile, he languishes pitifully. The travail of despair did not for him as it has done for many others create pearls of literary merit. It would be interesting to read selections from the *Metamorphoses* and then from the *Fasti* in order to measure the difference between them and to estimate his dependence upon circumstances. One gains from contact with his graceful manner even though it is often carried into extravagance. The *Metamorphoses* creates an atmosphere resembling closely that of the *Arabian Nights*. To be thus transported from the world of reality to the realm of pure fancy has its advantages for all of us. He has been prolific in suggestions to other poets even down to modern times. He is a store-house of information on mythology. For these reasons, the teacher of secondary Latin, particularly of Vergil, would find his opportunities much enlarged by a reading course based on Ovid.

Seneca is a great preacher fallen on evil days. He has been called the Divine Pagan, and tradition has even associated him with St. Paul. Of high moral earnestness, eloquent, filled with zeal to serve the state and humanity, a man of letters and of affairs, a true representative of Stocicism, he should make a direct appeal to every lover of Latin. There are some defects of style; at times he approaches the bombastic; yet in the serious-

ness of his thought these blemishes may be readily overlooked. His Moral Essays or Letters should be the first point of attack. These come in easy portions and may be read in one continuous course or, without harm, may be distributed over a longer period. One can scarcely read anything more provocative of thought than these Essays.

Juvenal represents a more limited interest, however essential it may be in a balanced understanding of the development of Roman thought. He, too, reflects the conditions of his age in which the aristocracy was locked in a struggle with the monarchy, in which the submerged classes were slowly rising, and in which vice was rampant. It was the last condition which seems principally to have aroused the poet's indignation. In describing the vice of his time his pen was dipped in venom in a manner never elsewhere equalled. For mordant phrase, one need not look beyond Juvenal. He represents the abnormal, the hideously ugly in most realistic fashion. For such qualities he will always be sought. The reader may examine into his motives but there is no general agreement concerning them. Some scholars make him an apostle of righteousness, others, a monster, gloating on the conditions he describes. If the reader desires a mere acquaintance with such an author, and so much at least he should have, he may limit his studies to satires 3, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, and 14.

Suetonius claims the attention more for external conditions than for real merit. By many he is regarded as the last performer in Latin literary history. A wholesome intellectual curiosity would compel us to make the acquaintance of Suetonius as well as of Plautus, that the beginning and the end of the era may be compared. His interests were curious, in fact, he may be called a faddist. The normal interests of military science and of politics he seems to have disregarded. In him we may see how complete has become the separation between intellectual proclivities and participation in affairs. But this very accident has produced our only source of information concerning many personal phases of the life of the Caesars. How human Julius becomes when we are told the color of his eyes, of his anxiety

over his increasing baldness, or of his fastidious care for his toga! How many *auxilia* for arousing the interest of the Caesar student may the teacher obtain from a reading acquaintance with Suetonius! He is not lacking in certain charms of style. His monotony gives place frequently to a sprightly manner. His sentences though often framed in careless disregard of rules, much after the modern fashion, are generally clear as to meaning. Because he is to a great extent a "modernist" in his interests and manner, he will prove illuminating to those who read him.

CLASSICAL READING CIRCLE — GREEK AUTHORS

[The following list of Greek authors in the Circle's program failed to appear in the October number of the JOURNAL, as it was not ready when the press forms for that number were closed.—Ed.]

Part I

Xenophon: **Anabasis* V-VII

Hellenica I-II

Thucydides: **Rise of the Athenian Empire* (I. 89-118; 128-138), **Capture of Sphacteria* (IV. 1-41)

Homer: **Iliad* VI, IX, XXII

**Odyssey* VI, VII

Plato: **Apology*, *Crito* and *Phaedo*.

Part II

Herodotus, VII, VIII

Thucydides, VI, VII

Andocides, *On the Mysteries*

Demosthenes: Public orations: *Philippic* I; *Olynthiacs* I-III;

Private orations: XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVII,

XXXIX, XL, LVI

Plato: *Laches*, *Euthydemus*, *Protagoras*.

Aeschylus: *Prometheus*

Euripides: **Medea*, **Andromache*

Sophocles: *Antigone*.

Aristophanes: *Acharnians* or *Clouds*

Lyric Poetry: Selections

Part III

Menander: Four plays

Greek Papyri: Selections

Aristophanes: *Plutus*

Xenophon: **Oeconomicus*

Theocritus: Selections

Lucian: Selections

Plutarch: *Pericles*

For further selections readers are requested to make their own choice and report.

* Editions with vocabulary.

Hints for Teachers

By B. L. ULLMAN
University of Iowa

[The aim of this department is to furnish high school teachers of Latin with material which will be of direct and immediate help to them in the classroom. Teachers are requested to send questions about their teaching problems to B. L. Ullman, Iowa City, Iowa. Replies to such questions as appear to be of general interest will be published in this department. Others will, as far as possible, be answered by mail. Teachers are also asked to send to the same address short paragraphs dealing with teaching devices, methods, and materials which they have found helpful. These will be published if they seem useful to others.]

Latin for English

Mr. Willis A. Ellis edits a department called "A Word a Week" on the "Wide-Awake Page" of *The Chicago Daily News*. This appears every Saturday and contains very interesting stories for boys and girls about English words derived from Latin. These are, it is hoped, to be published later in book form. Here is an example:

"The men under arrest are believed to be folded up in the robbery." This is the way the newspaper reporter didn't write the sentence. What he did say was that the men were believed to be "implicated" in the robbery, but it comes to the same thing. To implicate is to fold in.

The Latin word "plicare" and its kindred give us many English derivatives. "Explicate" is to fold out, unfold, explain, and if a thing is inexplicable (accent on the second syllable) you can't unfold it no matter how hard you try. If anything is complicated it is because it is folded together. A person might, while standing, make a supplication, but etymologically it would be more correct for him to kneel, since "supplicate" means to fold under.

Our words "simple," "double," "triple," "quadruple," and so on, come from the corresponding Latin "simplex," "duplex," "triplex," "quadruplex," and the similarity of this "plex" ending to "plic" is not difficult to see. "Threefold" and "fourfold" are good synonyms for "triple" and "quadruple."

Parallels

When Chinese bandits captured a number of foreigners, mostly Americans, one of the captives, an American newspaper correspondent, was sent as an emissary after giving his promise to return, no matter what happened. True to his word, he returned to the hard-

ships and possible torture or death of the bandits' camp. The similarity of his action to that of the Roman Regulus when captured by the Carthaginians is so striking that a newspaper editorial pointed out the parallel. It called Regulus' fame "an inspiration to better manhood for more than twenty-two centuries."

The dramatic story of the notification of Mr. Coolidge of his elevation to the presidency while he was living the life of a farmer at his father's farm near an obscure town off the railroad can not fail to remind everyone of the tale of Cincinnatus. Even in details the parallel is striking.

In the olden days when eclipses of sun or moon frightened the superstitious, it was necessary to warn them beforehand. So on one occasion the Roman soldiers were warned of an eclipse of the moon, as Livy tells us (44.37). That we are not any more advanced than the ancients in this respect is well illustrated by a large newspaper headline at the time of the recent eclipse of the sun: "No Danger to Earth Comes With Darkening of Bright Master Planet."

Latin Newspaper

Mercurius, the paper published by the Latin Department of the Mishawaka, Ind., High School, and referred to in earlier "Hints," will be issued four times during the present year, beginning with the latter part of October. The subscription price of thirty-five cents should be sent to Zoë Wyland, Mishawaka, Ind.

Drills and Dances

At my request, Miss Lillian B. Lawler of the University of Iowa, who combines with Latin teaching an interest in interpretative dancing, has compiled the following facts.

Latin teachers frequently feel the desirability, in preparing plays and exhibitions, of introducing into them dances and drills based on classical themes. If there happens to be in the high school an obliging gymnasium teacher, or even one of the older high school girls who has had a little aesthetic or interpretative dancing, the Latin teacher's task is lightened considerably. However, even if she is left entirely to her own resources, she need not despair; for there is on the market a fairly large amount of material simple enough for her to use.

Some of the dances and drills available are:

Drills

The Eldridge Entertainment House, Franklin, Ohio, distributes at fifteen cents a copy, "The Vestal Virgins, A Spectacular Taper Drill for Ten or

More Female Characters," by B. M. Wilson. The characters are nine Vestal Virgins and a Sibyl. The action is a combination of marching and posing. Though hardly truly classical, the drill is spectacular, and the instructions are clear. The Latin teacher may easily adapt it to her own needs.

Dances

The three chief sources from which these may be obtained are:

The Vestoff-Serova Russian School of Dancing, 47 W. 72nd St., New York City. (Designated below as V. S.)

The Chalif Russian Normal School of Dancing, 163-165 W. 57th St., New York City. (Designated below as C.)

The American Physical Education Association, Box 123, Highland St., Springfield, Mass. (Designated below as A.)

The dances issued by these three are accompanied by the necessary music, and every movement to be made by the dancer is described in very explicit terms.

a. Very Simple Dances

These may be taught by the Latin teacher herself, if she and her pupils have a good sense of rhythm.

Greek Maidens Playing Ball. C. \$3.00. A group dance, with large balls.

The Chariot Race. C. \$3.00. Groups of three girls holding hands represent the driver and the two horses. The steps are balancing in place, sliding, and running.

The Golden Age. C. \$4.00. Three girls dance carrying flat baskets.

Sylvan Scene. C. \$4.00. Three hamadryads play in a forest.

The Amazons. C. \$3.00. Marching steps combined with military attitudes.

Pyrrhic Dance. C. \$3.00. A group of warriors march and pose.

Sylvan Carnival. C. \$3.00. The dancers revel in Arcady.

Trio Waltz. C. \$3.00. Three girls in Greek costume pose and move slowly in a simple dance.

Fairy Pipes. C. \$3.00. The dancers carry Greek pipes and wear Greek costume.

Friendship. C. \$3.00. Two Greek maidens dance together.

Roman Games. C. \$3.00. This is a frieze-like dance portraying ancient athletic games.

The following are solo dances but may be done by two or more pupils at once to form a group dance:

A Greek Bridesmaid. V. S. \$3.00. A light-hearted Greek maiden dances with a basket of roses in her hand.

Atalanta. C. \$3.00. Leaps and martial stamping steps make up this dance.

Besides these, all three firms publish books which contain very simple dances and exercises which the Latin teacher could use. These are:

Chalif, Text Book of Dancing, Vol. III, Greek Dancing. C. \$5.00.

Serova, Nature Dancing. V. S. \$5.00. This contains, among others, The Grecian Pivot, Grecian Ball Exercises, and In Arcady.

Newton, Graded Games and Rhythmic Exercises. A. \$2.00. Part Second, Grade IV, contains a section on Grecian Games.

b. Less Simple Dances

The following dances should be taught by someone who has had at least a little training in dancing:

Grecian Frieze. V. S. \$3.75. Group dance for 9 girls, two dressed as Greek youths carrying javelins.

Elysian Fields. V. S. \$3.50. Group dance for 12 girls; posing.

Chopin Prelude. V. S. \$3.50. Group dance for 12 girls; posing.

Chopin Prelude. V. S. \$3.50. Poses for 4 Greek maidens.

Bacchanale. V. S. \$3.00. For 2 girls.

A Trilogy of the Day. C. \$8.00. Three solos, Morning (Aurora awakens the earth); Noon (A Greek shepherdess dances to her own flutes); Night (ending in a sort of bacchanal.)

Arcadia. C. \$3.00. A pastoral waltz solo.

Pastorella. C. \$3.00. Greek shepherdess solo.

Rondoletto. C. \$3.00. Romping solo for girl dressed as a Nymph.

Sunlight Sketch. C. \$3.00. A little Nymph gambols in the sun.

Cupid. C. \$3.00. Solo dance for a child.

Chopin Prelude. C. \$3.00. Solo; Nymph pursued by an imaginary Faun.

Moment Musical. C. \$3.00. Solo, with Greek flutes. If done by several girls, may be used as a group dance.

Dancing Nymph. C. \$3.00. Sprightly solo.

Aurora. C. \$3.00. Gentle and benevolent; solo.

Echo. C. \$3.00. Solo, but may be made into a group dance.

Psyche. C. \$3.00. Solo; represents the soul.

Bow and Arrow Dance. C. \$3.00. Solo or group; primitive Greek costume.

Diana. C. \$3.00. Solo. Diana the huntress and the moon goddess.

Hebe. C. \$3.00. A slow dance; with a cup or bowl.

Cherished Urn. C. \$3.00. A maiden grieving over the ashes of her slain lover.

Water Nymph. C. \$3.00. Solo, but may be made into a group dance; scarf used to represent the motion of waves.

Wood Nymph. C. \$3.00. Solo, but may be made into a group dance; joyous.

Pan, or The Pipes of Arcady. C. \$3.00. Solo, or duet for girl and boy.

The Vintage. C. \$3.00. A bacchanal, solo.

Bacchanal. C. \$3.00. The dancer carries a pitcher and a cup.

The Discus-Thrower. C. \$3.00. Suggested by Myron's Discobolus. Poses and leaping. For a boy or a girl of boyish build.

Pandora. C. \$3.00. A pantomimic solo.

Polyhymnia. C. \$3.00. Solo, but may be made into a group dance. The muse, with lyre in one hand, goes through steps technical but easy.

Triumph. C. \$3.00. Solo, but may be made into a group dance. Leaping and hopping, interspersed with calmer steps.

In Early Spring. C. \$3.00. Two Greek lovers.

Pastorale. C. \$3.00. Two Greek lovers.

Music Hath Charms. C. \$5.00. Shepherd and Nymph.

Nymphs at Play. C. \$3.00. A lively group dance.

Pompeian Flower Girls. C. \$3.00. The girls carry flat baskets of roses. Good for out-of-door work.

Dryad's Dance. C. \$3.00. Branches are carried. Good for out-of-door work.

Diana's Hunting Party. C. \$3.00. Suggested by the painting, "La Chasse de Diane." For a group of boyishly-built girls.

Dionysia. C. \$5.00. For 6 girls. Slow, but evolving. Like a procession, in parts.

Marche Héroïque. C. \$5.00. For 6 girls, dressed as Amazons. Hops, leaps, and mock battles.

Saturnalia. C. \$5.00. For 6 dancers, carrying branches. Ends in a bacchanal.

Cleopatra's Dance. C. \$3.00. Solo, but may be made into a group dance. Cleopatra dances to please Antony.

Salambo. C. \$3.00. The dancer carries a censer. Based on ancient Carthaginian ritual.

Amazon Triumph (Caskey). A. \$1.00. A spectacular group dance for girls or boys.

Greek Festival Series (Hofer). A. Greek Frieze, 50c. A sacrificial ceremony. For older boys or girls. Daphne and Apollo, \$1.50. For from 20 to 50 high school or college girls. Lasts 20-30 min.

Pipes of Pan (Sherman). A. \$1.25.

The following books contain parts of use to the Latin teacher who has help available:

Hinman, *Gymnastic and Folk Dancing*, in 5 volumes, quarto. A. \$1.60 each.

In Vol. I, Solo Dances: The Faun, Helen, The Pipes of Pan.

In Vol. II, Couple Dances: Greek Dance, Ode Olympic Games.

In Vol. III, Ring Games: Roman Soldiers.

In Vol. IV, Group Dances: Greek Sacrificial.

In Vol. V, Clog Dances (in press): Alcibiades, Bacca Pipes.

Lincoln, *The Festival Book*. A. \$2.40.

In Chapter V: A Roman Dance, Roman May Dance.

The chief disadvantage of having to depend on published dances is the expense involved. If it is at all possible, the Latin teacher should try to learn a little interpretative dancing herself. Many normal schools, colleges, and universities give a short summer course, requiring no previous training; and if the Latin teacher will avail herself of some of these opportunities, she will be surprised to find how much she will learn, and how much better-poised she will become, in a very short time. More than this—she will have an increased appreciation of ancient sculpture and rhythm, a pleasant method of relaxation from her class-room duties, and the ability to make for herself and to coach simple dances on classical themes.

Conducting a Caesar Recitation

A request has come in for information as to how teachers conduct a Caesar recitation. Teachers are asked to send in their answers.

Punning Riddles

Students of Miss Beryl Sandy's class in the Greencastle, Ind., High School made up the following:

1. What mineral is found on the side of a *hill*? *Collis* (coal is).
2. Ladies, what room *of your* house do you like best? *Vestrum* (west room).
4. Who was *so* sick that the doctor had to be called? *Tam*.
3. Name one of the *tall* girls in the class? *Alta*.
5. What *thing* has caused the jam to disappear? *Re* (Ray).
6. What would be a good name for this *happy* boy? *Felix*.
7. What is your grade if you get *from* ninety to ninety-five? *E* (A).
8. What is the name of your horse that was *badly* hurt last year? *Male* (Mollie).
9. If "oppidum" is *neither* masculine or feminine, what is it? *Neuter*.
10. If you are not able to talk, what can you do? *Si*.
11. What happens if a boy walks *slowly* to school? *Tarde*.
12. How can you make birds have *trust* in you? *Fidem* (feed 'em).
13. What is used as an exclamation by an Englishman? *A*.
14. What are you taught *to* do first in arithmetic? *Ad*.
15. What is it that makes clothes nice and *light*? *Lux*.
16. What does a pine tree do on a *mountain* when the wind blows? *Mons* (Moans).
17. What is a dog *permitted* to do to your hand? *Licet*.

Book Reviews

Herodas, the Mimes and Fragments, with notes by the late Walter Headlam, edited by A. D. KNOX. Cambridge: the University Press, 1922. Pp. lxiv+465. \$10.00.

A good deal of water has flowed under the bridges since Nairn published his "Herodas" twenty years ago and a good deal of ink has been spilled over this lately revived Alexandrian. From the size of the book under review we may expect to find it containing most of the worth-while comments made on this illusive and difficult author and in this we are not disappointed. The complete Mimes average something like a hundred lines each and the notes on each Mime cover something like thirty to fifty pages. Were elucidation not so necessary in Herodas, we should feel that the Mimes had again been buried and needed rediscovery.

It is a most difficult task for an editor to do justice both to himself and to the memory of a dead friend whose unfinished work he is asked to publish. He must ever prefer the judgment expressed by the departed scholar to his own even where he must feel that a later survey, a more complete knowledge, would alter that judgment. He must be ready to bear the blame and forego the praise. To such a task Mr. Knox devoted himself. He has carefully and skilfully differentiated his work from that of Headlam and he has in spite of all obstacles produced a book that has unity. He has reason to feel proud of a debt of friendship adequately discharged.

Introduction I gives Headlam's views on the Alexandrian writers and on the Mime collected from many sources. His admirers will all be glad to have here in concise form this readable and scholarly account of a much depreciated literary school. Introduction II gives some very valuable directions by Mr. Knox on the problems of editing a papyrus manuscript. The next 426 pages are devoted to the text of the Mimes, critical notes, a prose translation facing the text and explanatory notes. As already indicated the latter are extremely complete, yet not too complete. The editor feels strongly, (perhaps too strongly for his animadversions to archaeology are not in a

friendly tone), that literary sources alone must explain the many obscure allusions in Herodas. Therefore all Greek and Latin literature is asked, "sometimes by ample interrogation and sometimes by torture," to contribute passages for elucidation. The references cover an extremely wide range and display erudition and unwearying toil. The translation is colloquial — as it should be — and comes as near the original in the many coarse passages as the English printed page will allow. The critical notes leave nothing to be desired. As nearly as possible they supply the place of a photographic facsimile of the papyrus. A series of five indices completes this elaborate edition.

In judging a composite work like this the reviewer must always remember that the editor, for the sake of completeness or because he is unwilling to omit any of his friend's work, may have included notes he would otherwise have discarded. The volume is at once a tribute to Herodas and to Headlam who worked devotedly on in his effort to solve his author's riddles even while "the shadow stood by," ἡ σκῆῶ παρῑστήκεν (1, 16).

LOUIS E. LORD

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Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art. By WALTER WOODBURN HYDE. Washington: The Carnegie Institution, 1921. Pp. xix+406, with 31 plates and 80 text illustrations.

Professor Hyde's previous studies of the problems presented by the statues of Olympic victors, in his *De Olympionicarum Statuis a Pausania commemoratis* and in articles published in the *American Journal of Archaeology* and elsewhere, revealed him as an accurate and conscientious scholar, widely read in the history of Greek sculpture; and this beautifully printed volume fulfills the expectations which his earlier work had raised. The plan of the book is conceived on very broad lines, so that it includes not only an account of statues actually set up at Olympia, but also discussions of the development of the Greek games, of the pose and the attributes of statues of athletes in general, of the relation of these types to other creations of the Greek masters, and of the style and the relationships of many individual sculptors and schools. In the consideration of all these difficult and controversial matters, Professor Hyde very carefully quotes his authorities and presents us with careful, critical sum-

maries of modern discussions. Occasionally one is left a little uncertain of the writer's own opinion, but usually this is clearly stated and skilfully defended.

It would be quite misleading, however, to give the idea that the book consists merely of summary and criticism of the views of others. Professor Hyde has many contributions of his own to make, especially in regard to his already published theories that the statues at Olympia were sometimes of marble, rather than of bronze, and that Lysippus was not exclusively a worker in metal. Sometimes, too, as in the concluding chapter on the positions of victor statues in the Altis, he revises opinions he had previously expressed.

Probably no reader will find himself in agreement with the author at all points. Where the evidence is so fragmentary as it is for many of the questions involved, such agreement is hardly to be expected. But one always has the feeling that the game is being fairly played, that the writer is conscientiously trying to add to our knowledge of Greek athletic art and giving us the means of forming an independent judgment. The result is a book which is a credit to American scholarship and one which will prove indispensable to all serious students of the subject.

GEORGE H. CHASE

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Elementary Latin: With Correlated Studies in English for Junior and Senior High Schools. By B. L. ULLMAN and NORMAN E. HENRY. The Macmillan Company: New York, 1923. Pp. XVIII 391.

This text represents in attractive and teachable form an effort to adapt the necessary principles of Latin grammar to the conditions of the modern classroom and the demands of advanced educational practice. As the title indicates, it emphasizes the correlation of Latin with English. And while in no wise plagiaristic, the work has combined the commendable features of other successful texts of the past decade which aim to stimulate the interest of the listless student mind, and at the same time the authors have laid due emphasis upon the principles which must be stressed as a preparation for successful second year work.

The book contains a greater number of photographs than any other first year text of the writer's acquaintance. Many of these

are views from airplanes such as that of Pompeii, Ostia, the amphitheatre at Nîmes, and Rome with the Colosseum in the foreground. Other views are taken from the motion picture "Julius Caesar." These are very well chosen, particularly two representing the interior of a Roman house, one a close-up of Romans watching the bulletin boards, and another the murder of Caesar in the Senate. The pictures are not generally related to the material in the lesson, but they do afford a splendid opportunity for introducing discourses on Roman private life and art. Finally, three or four colored plates heighten the attractiveness of the photographic scheme.

The book is divided into 100 lessons, most of which are short enough to be covered in a single assignment. A noteworthy feature of the lessons is that they contain much of the material which in other elementary Latin texts is hidden away largely in the appendix. This material is worked into the study of prefixes and suffixes, loan words, phonetic changes, spelling, interesting words, abbreviations, phrases, and quotations. An abundance of material is afforded teachers who may choose to emphasize the laboratory method, and derivative note-books are given. Every lesson contains some phase of these Latin and English word studies and throughout the book the authors have consistently held to the ideal of making the Latin clear up problems of English vocabulary, spelling, and grammar, as well as of laying the foundation of an accurate translating of a chapter of Caesar.

An interesting and, to most teachers, possibly, a commendatory feature of the short vocabulary of 600 words is that this list was selected after much research from words which proved to have the largest number of English derivatives in ordinary prose. Five hundred eight of these occur five times or more in Caesar. However, the authors in an evident effort to lessen the tang of military phraseology have introduced words of a more general character. Hence many teachers will welcome the type "We do not find good timber in the forest" instead of "The soldiers are cutting down timber for a rampart." A patent effort to modernize a military expression is the sentence, "Omnes scimus Americanos milites esse acres et fortes."

If the forty-eighth lesson may be considered a proper termination of the work of the first semester, there will be found in this portion the active and passive indicative of four conjugations, the first and

second declensions, five different ablatives, a genitive, a dative, and three uses of the infinitive. The third declension is not introduced until the forty-ninth lesson, the fourth is delayed until the 94th lesson, and the fifth declension is taken up at the 97th lesson. Indirect statement occurs in the 66th lesson, the subjunctive in the 74th, and most of the irregular verbs are considered from the 77th lesson on. This arrangement makes the work of the second semester a trifle heavy; but the simplicity of the work of the first term and the thoroughness with which the verb and noun inflections are taken up should enable the average class to cope with the difficulties of the second semester more easily and should insure that fewer pupils become discouraged at the outset of their work.

Throughout the book passages of connected reading are plentiful, starting with a short paragraph about Columbus and Isabella in Lesson 8 and developing into the story of Lucius in Lesson 30 which runs through to Lesson 91. The latter story describes in interesting style and well-graded form the most important phases of Roman public and private life that a tender freshman might be expected to comprehend. A short play in the middle of the work and another of greater length at the end offer opportunity for self-expression either in the classroom or in a Latin club meeting. The authors seem to have had the boy element of the class in mind, as fighting and explosive exclamation form an important part of both plays.

Taken all in all, the Latin-English and English-Latin exercises contain sentences which express sense and are interesting. A notable exception is sentence 5, article 457, which reads: "Video te te cecidisse; quo modo hoc fecisti?" It is possible that the second 'te' is a misprint for 'eum', or that this is an irrelevant conversation between a visitor from Earth and an unhappy soul down in the circle of suicides.

The appendix of this text contains, besides the usual summary of grammar and inflections, a section of over six pages showing the correlation of Latin with French and Spanish. For the teacher who feels the urge of more classroom conversation, there is provided a special vocabulary dealing with objects in the classroom and names of the cases, tenses, and other forms in Latin.

While it will be agreed generally that real scholarship and an appreciation of the needs and limitations of the youthful high school

student is expressed throughout this text, one cannot but regret that the authors did not provide vocabulary lists in each of the nine review lessons, and a final list containing separate groups of verbs and nouns used in each of the two semesters. One also shudders to see "Corsicane" and "Insulamne" start yes- and no-questions in section 121. Of the 31 questions answered by yes or no, only 18 have the enclitic attached to the verb. Of the first 17 questions, 9 were started with nouns, 3 with adjectives, and one with an adverb. The freshman will not meet one-fifth as many throughout the remaining years of his high school course.

Parva queror! The Ullman and Henry ELEMENTARY LATIN with its bold emphasis upon the side of English, its appeal to the aesthetic tastes of the young student, and the fewness of errors both of omission and commission is a decidedly desirable addition to the small library of really successful first year Latin texts.

DORRANCE S. WHITE

ANN ARBOR HIGH SCHOOL

September 16, 1923

A History of Magic and Experimental Science during the First Thirteen Centuries of our Era. By LYNN THORNDIKE, Professor of History in Western Reserve University. Vol. I: pp. xl, 835; Vol. II: pp. viii, 1036. The Macmillan Co.: New York, 1923. Price \$10.00 per set.

The title of these volumes almost inevitably reminds one of the title of two books by Andrew Dickson White, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*. The two sets of books are really complementary. In Rome magic and religion were not, however, always extremely divergent. A handy working distinction is that religion was the ritual officially prescribed, while magic, if not proscribed, was merely tolerated.

On seeing the title of Professor Thorndike's book the reader who lacks historical perspective may perhaps wonder what connection there can possibly be between magic and science. Inability to differentiate between the two still exists and there will always be a tendency to attribute to magic things strange to one's experience. An Egyptian on seeing an aeroplane for the first time called it "white man's magic." I have read that the first scientific billiardist who used "English" on billiard balls in Paris was almost mobbed as

a wizard. Not even the last century with its vast and numerous experimental laboratories in colleges and industrial establishments has taught all educated people that experiment and research constitute the basis of scientific knowledge.

When a majority of my students in a large university class took bitter exception to a casual remark that prayers have as little influence on the weather as incantations, I was as shocked as they were. Among students from agricultural communities one can almost always find ardent defenders of current agricultural moon superstitions. The millenium when the pulpit shall have learned to differentiate between religion, magic and folklore in the Old Testament is still in the remote future.

The awe which the first investigators of natural phenomena had to overcome is well set forth by Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.*, 6.5.2: "It was an undertaking requiring great courage (for a man) to expose the lairs of Nature, and, not content to view them from the outside, to examine them from within and to delve into the secrets of the gods." Lydus, *De Ostentis*, 9, gives a scientific explanation of eclipses, but as soon as he catches his breath again he goes to record superstitions about them. *Macte ingenio este, caeli interpretes rerumque naturae capaces, argumenti repertoires, quo deos hominesque vicistis!* Such a eulogy and blessing could Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, 2.54) pronounce upon those who had explained eclipses, and yet he did not have the penetration to see that there might be a natural explanation of other things that aroused his dread, comets, for instance.

Though men of scientific training today have entirely discarded magic, in ages past men actuated with the genuine spirit of scientific inquiry have found it almost impossible to make a distinct line of cleavage. Seneca and Galen possessed this spirit more than did their contemporaries, yet they too mingled magic with science. Some of Galen's scientific achievements were attributed to divination by medical men who could not understand them. Even Aristotle was led astray by traditional (mis-)information in fields in which he had not time and energy to do original investigation.

It took centuries to wean astronomy from astrology, chemistry from alchemy, medicine from religion and magic. It is not strange if there are still found 'hold-overs' among the uninitiate. Magic was a counterfeit science, but its claim and assumptions, preposterous as they now appear, could not be refuted without systematic

observation and experimentation. This attention to minutiae led to the exact sciences.

The period selected by Professor Thorndike, the first thirteen centuries of our era, while not so fascinating as the period of progress and achievement when Ionic and other Greek philosophers were trying to emancipate the world from intellectual thralldom, was more in need of a historian.

Of the five books into which the two volumes are divided those of especial interest for the classicist are Book I: *The Roman Empire*, and Book II: *Early Christian Thought*, which together comprise 547 pages. The rest of the work is, however, interesting to the classicist as revealing the persistent vitality of the classical tradition, though by no means the best of it. The author shows how magic is mixed with medicine, architecture, natural history, applied science in general, Christianity, and in fact with numerous branches of human achievement. The absence of a chapter on Columella and agriculture seems, however, to be a glaring omission.

Pliny is an ideal author to begin with since he gives us a résumé, however sporadic and unorganized, of the scientific achievements of the Greco-Roman world. There is no other writer in whom the warp of magic is so completely woven with the woof of science. He records both scientific explanations of natural phenomena and — with equal credulity at times — superstitions about them.

After him magic encroached more and more upon the frontiers science had so painfully won and was trying so desperately to maintain. Galen's constant reiteration of the necessity of experimentation (See Thorndike, I.157 *seqq.*) is proof, not of a general advance in the spirit of scientific inquiry, but of the opposite. Had experimentation been a matter of course, he would not have felt so impelled to dwell upon the necessity for it. The striking sentence of Publilius Syrus, *Discipulus est prioris posterior dies*, is still true of these thirteen centuries — as applied to things they could have afforded to forget.

These volumes are not merely the result of research; they provide material for it. Any scholar with a catholicity of tastes should find them both instructive and interesting. The work is sure to aid the cause of classical folklore, and to help to remove the prejudice of some persons who think that students of folklore are addicted to far-fetched and extravagant conclusions.

Of the professional men and scientists, the physician would find it the easiest to use this work for a history of his subject. Material on other branches of knowledge is less extensive and more scattered. Now that Professor Thorndike has shown the way we may perhaps expect from other scholars studies of special subjects with the same method of approach.

There is another appropriate reason for starting this work with Pliny, since, if we may judge from the size of the volumes, Professor Thorndike may have used Pliny as a model for the disposition of his time, perhaps going to the extreme of carrying a notepad when hunting (or golfing). Most of us are content to write one book, however attenuated it may be. Professor Thorndike has written a library. In spite of the Herculean character of the task he has found time for several *parerga* of no mean proportions.

The indices of the two volumes list some sixteen hundred manuscripts and the footnotes are replete with titles of articles and of books ancient and modern, yet there seems to be no padding of bibliographical references. Modern scholarly impedimenta, my own included, oftentimes remind me of the words of Vopiscus in his *Life* of the Emperor Tacitus: *Ego tamen haec idcirco inserendi volumini credidi ne quis me legens legisse non crederet.*

This review — it is really an announcement rather than a review — is patently inadequate and superficial. The proper heralding of this exploit of Professor Thorndike's, so Achillean in its boldness, will require a Homer with more space (and adjectives) than has the present *praeco*.

EUGENE S. McCARTNEY

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Recent Books

- ABBOTT, FRANK F. *Roman Politics*. (Our Debt to Greece and Rome Series.) Boston: Marshall Jones. Pp. 183. \$1.50.
- Aeschylus. *The Choëphoroe (Libation Bearers) of Aeschylus*, translated into English rhyming verse by Gilbert Murray. London: Allen and Unwin. Pp. 83. 3 s.
- Alciphron. Translated by F. A. Wright. (Broadway Translations.) London: Routledge. Pp. 221. 7 s. 6 d.
- Cicero. *De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divinatione*. With an English translation by W. A. Falconer. (Loeb Classical Library.) New York: Putman. Pp. xvii+568. \$2.25.
- CORNFORD, F. M. *Greek Religious Thought from Homer to the Age of Alexander*. New York: Dutton. Pp. 287. \$2.00.
- DEWITT, NORMAN W. *Virgil's Biographia Litteraria*. London: Milford. Pp. v+192. 12 s. 6 d.
- Euripides. *The Cyclops*. Freely translated and adapted for performance in English from the satyric drama of Euripides, by J. T. Sheppard. Cambridge: University Press. Pp. 27. 1 s.
- FULLER, B. A. G. *History of Greek Philosophy: Thales to Democritus*. (Student's edition.) New York: Holt. Pp. 302. \$2.75.
- The Girdle of Aphrodite*. The complete love poems of the Palatine Anthology. Translated by F. A. Wright. (Broadway Translations.) London: Routledge. Pp. 315. 7 s. 6 d.
- Hippocrates. With an English translation by W. H. S. Jones. Vol. I. (Loeb Classical Library.) New York: Putnam. Pp. lxix+362. \$2.25.
- HUBBARD, WILFRANC, *Shadows on the Palatine*. London: Constable. Pp. 259. 8 s. 6 d.
- JEROME, T. S. *Aspects of the Study of Roman History*. New York: Putnam. Pp. 434. \$3.50.
- LAISTNER, M. L. W. *Greek Economics*. Introduction and translation by M. L. W. Laistner. New York: Dutton. \$2.00.
- LIVINGSTONE, R. W. *A Pageant of Greece*. Oxford: University Press. Pp. xii+436. 6 s. 6 d.
- LONGUS. *Daphnis and Chloe*. Translated out of Greek by George

- Thornley. (The Abbey Classics.) London: Chapman and Dodd. Pp. xvi+195. 3 s. 6 d.
- MACHEN, J. G. *New Testament Greek for Beginners*. New York: Macmillan. Pp. 285. \$2.50.
- MACKAIL, J. W. *The Alliance of Latin and English Studies*. London: Murray. Pp. 19. 1 s.
- MCCARTNEY, E. S. *Warfare by Land and Sea*. (Our Debt to Greece and Rome Series.) Boston: Marshall Jones. Pp. 225. \$1.50.
- MERRILL, W. A. *The Lucretian Hexameter*. (University of California Publications in Classical Philology, Vol. V, No. 13.) Berkeley, California: University of California. \$0.60.
- NUTTING, HERBERT C. *Ad Alpes: a story of Roman life*. Berkeley, California: University of California. Pp. 200. \$0.80.
- PETERSON, ROY M. *The Cults of Campania*. Rome: American Academy in Rome. Pp. 403. 50 lire.
- Petronius. The Satyricon*. Translated by J. W. Mackail. (Broadway Translations.) London: Routledge. Pp. lii+364. 7 s. 6 d.
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